

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

The XYZ Affair and American
Nationalism

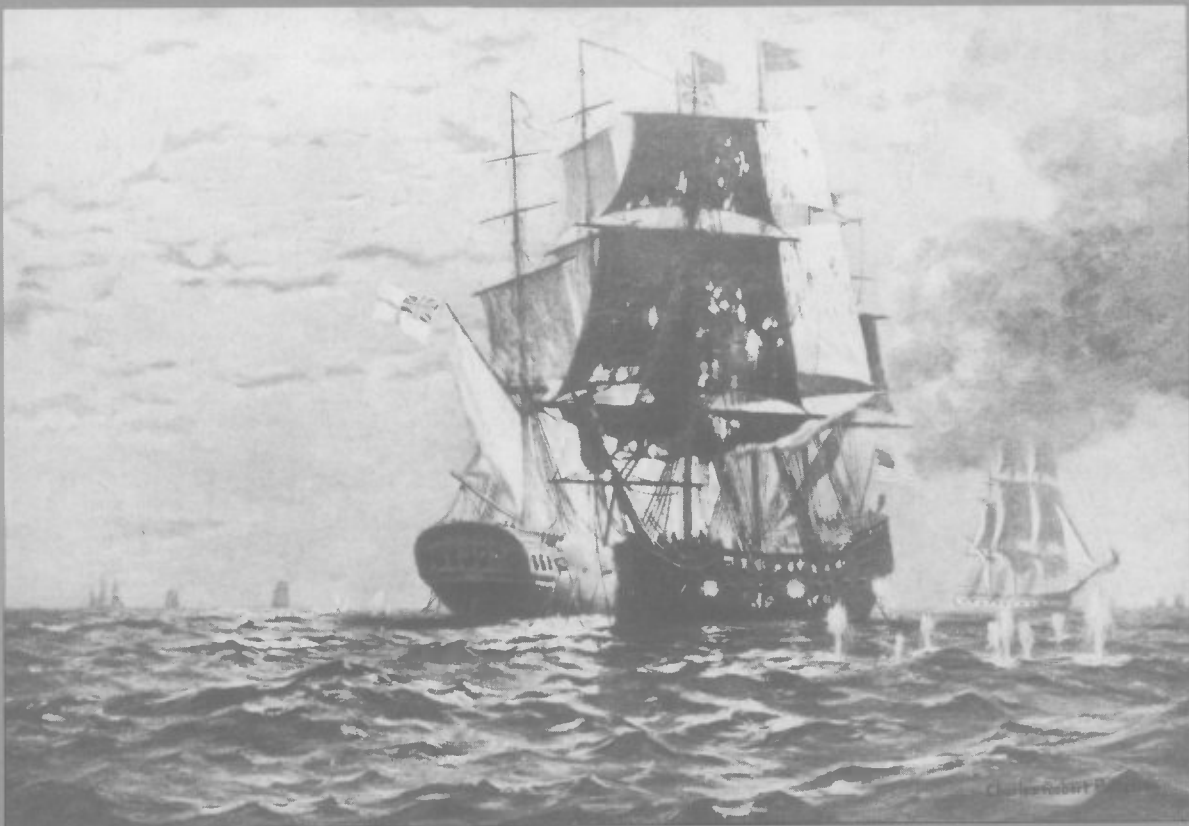
John W. Kuehl

The Narrative of John Kilby

Durward T. Stokes

Charles Carroll and the Passing of the
Revolutionary Generation

Robert P. Hay



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VOLUME LXVII

BALTIMORE

1972

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ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

DIRECTOR RETIRES

By Samuel Hopkins, President

HAROLD R. MANAKEE retired February 29, 1972, as Director of the Maryland Historical Society. Fortunately he will continue his association with the Society on a part-time basis as Director Emeritus and as Consultant on Maryland History.

When we consider this change, our thoughts turn to how much it has meant to us to have known and worked with Mr. Manakee during his twenty-six years with the Society, ten of which were as Director. It warms our hearts to be able to look forward to our continuing association with him in the years to come. Moreover, we look back with deep appreciation for the host of accomplishments which he has effected in furthering the purposes of the Society. We are grateful for his high quality of thoughtfulness, for his vision, and for his leadership, all of which have contributed much, not only to the Society but also to the pleasure it has been to those who have shared in the work of the Society.

Mr. Manakee first came to the Society in 1946, following his service as a World War II officer in the United States Naval Reserve. When he accepted the position of Director of the then newly established Maryland World War II Records Division, he brought to that endeavor, in addition to his naval experience, a strong personal interest in history, particularly in local history, and a unique ability to deal with people, as well as the benefit of having been a successful classroom teacher and school principal.

By 1951 much of the work of the War Records Division had been completed and, while retaining its directorship, Mr. Manakee also became the Society's Business Manager and assumed charge of an expanded program of work with the schools of Maryland. He became Assistant Director when the post was created in 1959, and in 1962 was named to succeed the late James W. Foster as Director.

During Mr. Manakee's tenure as Director, the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building was constructed and then the Keyser Memorial Building, which includes the Enoch Pratt Mansion, was renovated. During these periods his attention to detail and, much more important, his care for the Society's collections, were more than noteworthy. A high point in the history of the Society, always to be remembered, was the award to Mr. Manakee in May, 1971, by Loyola College, Baltimore, of the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters.

We are grateful to Mr. Manakee for all he has done for the Society and particularly for his friendship which has enriched the experience of the officers, members and staff of the Society. We are grateful, too, for the happy prospect of a continued active and warm relationship in the future.



HAROLD RANDALL MANAKEE—THE MAN

By Harry Bard, President of the Community College
of Baltimore

FEW persons are blessed with the abilities and the results to help make history, to teach it, to write it, and to direct a great institution that records for its use today and for posterity. Such a person is Harold Manakee, retiring Director of the Maryland Historical Society as of the end of February.

Harold Manakee's roots are in Maryland. He was born in Baltimore on April 17, 1908. His father, Thomas R. Manakee, a native of Howard County, became a dentist who served thousands of patients in west and northwest Baltimore. Nancy Barnett Paige, Mr. Manakee's mother, was from Harford County.

Harold Manakee attended public elementary school in west Baltimore and was graduated from Baltimore City College and the Maryland State Normal School, now Towson State College. He received a B.S. degree from the Johns Hopkins University and in 1971, a Doctor of Humane Letters from Loyola College, Baltimore. During the 1930's he taught history at Hamilton Junior High School, where his work was so outstanding that he was made a demonstration teacher there and, later, a vice principal.

In 1929 he met Beta Ennis Kaessmann who, like Mr. Manakee, had written numerous feature articles for the *Sunday Sun Magazine* and who was an administrative assistant to Dr. Joseph L. Wheeler, Librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library. With Dr. Wheeler they co-authored the textbook *My Maryland* which was published in time for the State's Tercentenary. In updated form it has been reprinted six times since then and has sold about 40,000 copies. It remains today the outstanding general Maryland history for young people. In the book Beta and Harold captured the romance of Maryland's development and in so doing also found each other. In 1934, the year of the Tercentenary, the two were married.

When World War II began, December 1941, Mr. Manakee volunteered for service in the United States Naval Reserve. He served overseas in combat areas as an intelligence officer, as an officer in charge of a patrol torpedo boat advanced base, and upon his return to the United States, as an instructor.

When the war was over Harold Manakee returned to his first love—history. This time he became Director of the Maryland World War II Records Division program of the Society. In this capacity he and his staff assembled a specialized library and wrote or compiled eleven volumes in recording the State's contribution to the war.

Outstanding as was his authorship—later to be expanded to include books on early Maryland Indians, Maryland in the Civil War, and the Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History—his directorship at the Society was exceptional. During his tenure and under his direction the Thomas and Hugg Memorial addition to the Society was built and occupied. But most of all, Harold Manakee loved to teach. Whether it was in the formal classroom or with informal school or adult groups visiting the Society, he had a gift for making the past seem real. One could see the actual landings from the *Ark* and the *Dove* and feel the concerns of Lord Baltimore when he talked about the living past.

The reward that comes to one so talented is that he, himself, is enshrined in the history he loved, wrote, helped to make, recorded, and taught so well.



P. WILLIAM FILBY

THE NEW DIRECTOR OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

By Edward G. Howard, Vice President

LIKE Harold Manakee before him, P. W. Filby will assume the directorship of the Society as a friend, not as a stranger. During his six years as Librarian and Assistant Director, he has become well known both to the Society's members and to Marylanders in general. He has made the Society itself better known throughout the United States, and even abroad, through his lectures and book reviews and his active participation in far-flung bibliographical, historical, manuscript, and library organizations.

It is a little-known fact, quite unpublicized by him, that he has given the Society literally hundreds of books during his tenure and has secured the donation to it of thousands more. He and Mrs. Filby have also been most generous in other contributions to the Society.

Born an Englishman, Mr. Filby grew up as a choir-boy of Trinity College and King's College, Cambridge, and attended Trinity College Choir School. In young manhood he was employed by the Cambridge University Library, where he intensified his early love for books and attained a professional's knowledge of them. Toward the end of this period he became Director of the Cambridge University Science Library. He was also secretary and amanuensis to Sir James Frazer, the great Cambridge anthropologist.

During World War II Mr. Filby rose from private to captain in the British Intelligence Service. For about ten years after the war, he was an analyst and liaison officer with the British Foreign Office.

Upon his marriage to an American girl, the former Vera Ruth Weakliem, Mr. Filby became an American resident and, as soon as our laws allowed, an American citizen as well. For some years he was Assistant Director of the Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore, where he became celebrated for the superlative exhibitions he created there.

Mr. Filby is an authority on calligraphy, genealogy, and heraldry. He also claims to be an authority on cricket, an arcane British pastime which I, in common with most Americans, utterly fail to understand. I therefore am incapable of checking this claim. Knowing Mr. Filby, however, I am prepared to believe that he is indeed an authority on cricket too. More to the point, his devotion to the Society has impelled him to learn a great deal about the history of Maryland and the United States.

Such is Mr. Filby's record, or a part of it. That is past. For the future, what will his directorship of the Society mean to us, its members? I think it will mean what we as members genuinely want it to, for Mr. Filby has a remarkable talent for getting things done, not by himself alone, but through deft organization and the enlistment of capable volunteers. He is, in short, a first-rate administrator whose administrative gifts and quick intelligence will be at the Society's command.

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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THE XYZ AFFAIR AND AMERICAN NATIONALISM: REPUBLICAN VICTORIES IN THE MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES

By JOHN W. KUEHL

THE decade of the 1790's was one of the most agonizing periods which Americans ever experienced. A sense of insecurity in a world torn by war and revolution was magnified by continual harassment from abroad and internal political and sectional differences. At the outbreak of the Revolution, Americans at least had the assurances that they were fighting only one power, and they could count on the clandestine, if not the overt, support of France. But during the '90's, Americans found that they were isolated because they refused to aid France in her struggle with England. The XYZ Affair at the end of the decade climaxed several years of deterioration in Franco-American relations. Edmond Genêt's unsuccessful mission in 1793, Edmund Randolph's apparent treason in 1794-5, Pierre Adet's interference in the election of 1796 and the French Directory's hostility toward American acceptance of the Jay Treaty had all played a part in ending the "love affair" between the two republics.¹

¹ Bernard Fay depicted the relationship between the United States and France in very romantic terms. He argued that the two nations did not succeed in exchanging their characteristics as they had hoped they might but instead discovered within themselves formerly untapped and unrealized resources. Their love affair, Fay argues, was nonetheless of the loftiest dimension.

"Nobody discerns anything in common between those [lovers] who have just separated, for

In February, 1797, Secretary of State Timothy Pickering drew up a detailed list of American grievances against France. He listed the well-known complaints such as raiding and seizing American commerce and maltreating American sailors. He also protested the embargoes on American ships in France, the refusal of West Indian officials to repay debts to Americans, the confiscation of American property for public use without indemnification, the failure to abide by contracts for the delivery of American goods, and the condemnation of American ships in violation of treaties.²

In a special session of Congress called to consider Franco-American relations, President John Adams urged Congress to prepare for adequate defenses both at sea and on land. He reminded Congress that France had already attempted to divide the government and people of the American republic. It was "indispensable," said Adams, "to repel, by decided and united councils, insinuations so derogatory to the honor, and aggressions so dangerous to the Constitution, union, and even independence of the nation."³

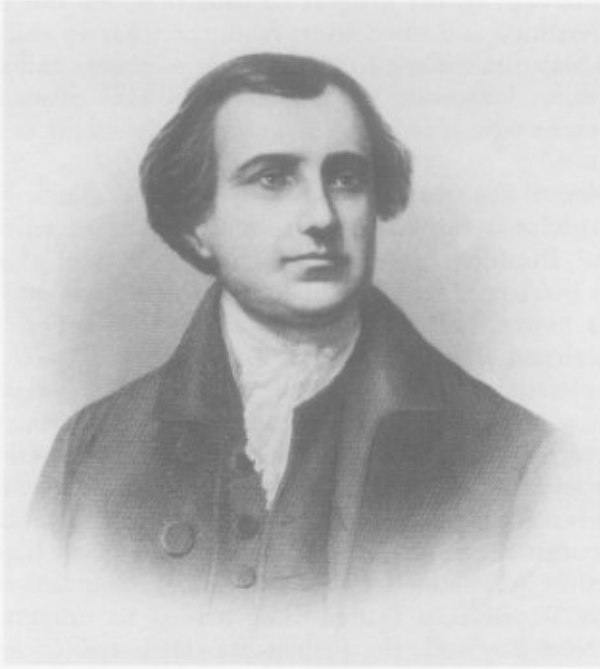
Republicans were dismayed by Adams' "war speech." When the Federalist dominated Senate passed a resolution strongly supporting belligerence against France, Virginia's Senator Henry Tazewell predicted that the President would soon push the country into war. Gloomily Tazewell foresaw that Adams would select a group of American negotiators who were unfriendly to France. The mission would fail, and Adams would satisfy the public that defense measures were vital. War with France would follow, and America would be forced into the arms of England, whose government Tazewell believed was on the verge of collapse.⁴ A portion of Tazewell's prediction came true. When France not only refused to receive American ambassadors Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry but also insisted that America pay a bribe to open negotiations, American indignation produced three years of undeclared war.

what they have retained is the great mystery, it is life and personality itself, the form that they needed. These generous intimacies, so rare even among men, are even rarer among nations. But the friendship of France and the United States between 1774 and 1800 affords such a spectacle. It is a mistake, I believe, to try to find intricate contrivances in it. If we consider it from an intellectual point of view, it is above all a mirage, a story of love." Bernard Fay, *The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America* (New York, 1927), pp. 477-478. Although Fay's perspective is exaggerated, it does approximate the warmth of American sympathy for France before 1795.

² Alexander DeConde, *The Quasi-War* (New York, 1966), skillfully presents the incidents leading to war. See particularly pp. 9, 38-39.

³ *Journal of the Senate of the United States of America*, First session, Fifth Congress (Washington, 1820), pp. 358-362.

⁴ Henry Tazewell to John Ambler, May 27, 1797, and February 22, 1798, The John Ambler Papers, Library of Congress. For further references to the view that Adams had sold out the Republicans, see reactions to the special session speech in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, May 17, 18, 1797, and the *Boston Chronicle*, May 29, 1797.



Edmund Randolph. *Library of Congress.*

While America's precarious situation in the international area was alarming, the nation also confronted violence and disorder at home.⁵ In the urban centers, bands of Associated Youth took to the streets singing patriotic songs. They were often met by republicans who sympathized with France. Brawls and riots ensued. As the spring of 1798 wore on into summer, the number of French sympathizers decreased, but the middle Atlantic states remained turbulent. In New York City, for example, President John Adams' personal secretary, Samuel Malcolm, and Governor John Jay's son were severely beaten by a group of French supporters. Animated by the arrival of President John Adams in New York on July 30, Malcolm, Jay and three other youths had been walking along the battery singing "Hail Columbia." They ran into a much larger group of men singing the French tune "Ca Ira." In the brawl which followed, Malcolm nearly had his eyes gouged out. Unfortunately for the Federalists, the crowd of on-lookers which gathered sided with the attackers.

⁵ Two excellent treatments of violence and disorder in the 1790's are John R. Howe, Jr., "Republican Thought and the Political Violence of the 1790's," *American Quarterly* XIX (Summer, 1967), pp. 147-165, and Marshall Smelser, "Jacobin Phrenzy: Federalism and the Menace of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity," *Review of Politics* XIII (1951), pp. 457-482.

The next night, men of the Federal cockade marched out to the battery to punish the "boatmen and low fellows from the wharves and docks." Over 400 gathered at Malcolm's home to give him three cheers and serenade with their patriotic verse. Following the assembly, the mob roamed the streets, but their adversaries who had been so aggressive the night before were nowhere to be found.⁶

Domestic violence was not confined to New York. Black Federal badge wearers in Philadelphia ransacked the home of *Aurora* editor, Benjamin Franklin Bache.⁷ President John Adams became fearful that the "reds" might attack his residence. He brought in additional arms and ammunition to barricade his house. Numerous instances of mob action and violence heightened Americans' insecurity.⁸

The off-year elections for Congress were held at the height of international uncertainty and domestic turbulence—April, 1798–March, 1799. Historians have correctly pointed out that the Federalists captured more seats in Congress than they would ever have again. In fact, however, the Federalist victory was largely a Southern phenomenon. Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia returned more Federalists than at any time since Washington's first term.⁹ Alienated by the XYZ Affair, Southerners soured on their pro-French Republican leaders and turned to moderate Federalist candidates. In New England, the Federalists continued to score with the voters although significant signs of party weakness could already be seen in Massachusetts.¹⁰

The middle Atlantic states contrasted sharply with the other sections of the country. In Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, Federalists were unsuccessful in winning the support of the electorate. Voters were alarmed by the High Federalists' open belligerence toward France. Unlike their fellow partisans in the South, Republicans adopted a moderate tone. What is most striking about the aftermath of the XYZ Affair in the middle Atlantic states is the lack of popular allegiance to political party at the very time when the intensity of party polemics in the newspapers reached its zenith. The venom which poured from the press in 1798 would suggest that party lines were rigidly fixed; in fact, they were not. The election results in the Middle States indicated that what the people wanted above all was an independent policy which would insure the integrity of American national interest. The early enthusiasm for the idealism of the French Revolution now yielded to a rising apprehension of French imperialism.

⁶ *The South Carolina Gazette*, Aug. 16, 23, 1798.

⁷ *The Time Piece*, May 14, 1798.

⁸ See, for example, Roy F. Nichols, *Invention of the American Political Parties* (New York, 1967), pp. 200-201.

⁹ See Manning J. Daur, *The Adams Federalists* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 233-237.

¹⁰ Paul Goodman, *The Democratic-Republicans of Massachusetts: Politics in a Young Republic* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), p. 102.



Elbridge Gerry. *Library of Congress.*

The true significance of the XYZ Affair is that it forced Americans to recognize that they must be truly free of both England and France if they were to develop that national character about which they wrote so much. The Alien and Sedition laws which passed Congress as a part of the reaction to the XYZ Affair forced Americans to define their liberties more clearly at the same time that they were changing their concept of the country's role in the international community. Resolving the tension which inhered in protecting the government from foreign aggression, on the one hand, and preserving the maximum amount of individual liberty, on the other, splintered old political alliances. New alignments were discernible in many of the campaigns of 1798 and 1799, and the ultimate resolution of the tension was apparent long before the election of 1800. Although local issues played a part in some states, these were most often subordinated to the national issues.¹¹ Indeed the Federalist party was splintered primarily over what policy was truly in the national interest, that is, what policy would assure national independence.

The most widely publicized contest for Congress in 1798 demonstrated

¹¹ Harry Marlin Tinkcom subtitles his book, *The Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 1790-1801* (Harrisburg, 1950), *A Study in National Stimulus and Local Response*. Tinkcom concludes that the political divisions in Pennsylvania were primarily related to "national and international problems." See especially his pp. 211-213. Carl Prince in *New Jersey's Jeffersonian Republicans* (Chapel Hill, 1967) argues that national issues divided New Jersey Federalists and Republicans at the time of the XYZ crisis. "Much of the impetus for the crystallization of party formations in New Jersey was national in origin." p. 40. See also p. 25. Alfred F. Young's conclusions about the New York Republicans entail their commitment to national aspirations. They were, says Young, patriotic, democratic gradualists who supported the national constitution. See Alfred F. Young, *The Democratic Republicans of New York: The Origins 1763-1797* (Chapel Hill, 1967), pp. 578-582.

this breakdown in Federalist unity. James Winchester, a Federalist, opposed General Samuel Smith, the Republican incumbent, for the Baltimore seat in the House of Representatives. The main issue in the campaign was the nation's foreign policy in the aftermath of the XYZ Affair. The campaign witnessed pitched battles in the streets between supporters of the two candidates. One Virginia Republican reported that a battle between 1500 "republicans" and 1100 "aristocrats" actually ended in the death of one "tory."¹²

Samuel Smith was widely criticized for suggesting to President Adams that the United States pay the *douceur* demanded by France if it would insure peace. At a small Presidential luncheon attended by Congressmen and personal friends of Adams, the conversation had naturally turned to the subject of France and the impending war. Whether Elbridge Gerry would be successful in getting a treaty from France was as yet unknown. Smith suggested that it would be much cheaper to pay what the French demanded than to wage a costly war. Adams responded heatedly that he would "not give the *value* of the duty on a *pound of tea!* for the principle was everything. . . ." Enraged with Smith's suggestion, the President said, "Sir, if that be your serious opinion, you cannot be an American, a republican or a virtuous man."¹³

At the height of the campaign, John Eager Howard, Federalist Senator from Maryland, described the luncheon incident to one of his constituents in Frederick, and it was picked up by the Federalist press. In the scuffle which followed, each side tried to get affidavits from those present at the luncheon. Smith admitted that from his early reading of the envoys' reports he thought that Marshall, Gerry and Pinckney were amenable to paying the *douceur* to France if indeed beneficial results could be expected.¹⁴

Moderate Federalists in the House of Representatives supported Samuel Smith for re-election. Representative James A. Bayard of Delaware weakly contended that Smith had only been joking when he made the suggestion. Bayard reported that Smith had denied that his proposal to pay the bribe was serious. Both he and Speaker of the House Jonathan Dayton favored Smith's candidacy.¹⁵

Howard and the ardent Federalists who supported Winchester were understandably unwilling to accept Bayard's pitiful explanation. They gathered depositions attesting to Smith's desire to sell the country to France. They also dug back into Smith's record at the time of the Jay Treaty and accepted sworn statements that the General was a traitor. The Federalist press con-

¹² Samuel Taylor to Creed Taylor, Fairfield Seminary, Oct. 20, 1798, William Cabell Bruce Papers (Creed Taylor Papers), XIII, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

¹³ James A. Bayard to John E. Howard, Aug. 30, 1798, Samuel Smith Papers, L. C. See also unidentified newspaper account (dated July 18, 1798) in the James A. Bayard Papers, I. L. C.

¹⁴ Samuel Smith to President John Adams, Aug. 2, 1798, Samuel Smith Papers, L. C.

¹⁵ Bayard to Howard, Aug. 30, 1798, and Jonathan Dayton to General Samuel Smith, Aug. 18, 1798, Samuel Smith Papers, L. C.

demned Smith for his unwillingness to defend the public safety. Federalist papers warned that the country's independent existence hung in the balance. Smith would help to subvert the government if elected because he opposed defense measures.¹⁶

In spite of Federalist efforts to discredit Smith, he was re-elected because of the support which he received from moderate Federalists. That Federalist sentiment in Baltimore was divided is clear. The moderate James Ash wrote Secretary of War James McHenry that while all of the people supported the government "in a defensive posture, preparatory [*sic*] to any violence which France may offer," he severely criticized the Federalist "policy of extermination" of all who had been "of the Democratic Side."

The doctrine of extermination would be a delightful way to introduce a civil war, while on the other hand converting [or] changing the deluded people by degrees, from past errors, as different dispositions can bear it, will nerve out union, Country, and Government, stronger than at any former period.¹⁷

Federalist loyalties in the election were complicated by the fact that Winchester had been a Republican in 1796 but had been converted to Federalism after the XYZ Affair. He was one of the Baltimore leaders who instigated the drafting of petitions of support to John Adams during the spring and summer of 1798. Apparently there were no real differences between Winchester and Smith as far as their political principles were concerned prior to the XYZ Affair.¹⁸ Unfortunately for Winchester, Smith's disclaimer and insistence that he did oppose paying any money to the Directory were accepted by the voters. The crucial decision for moderate Federalist and Republican voters was which policy was most likely to promote the national welfare, war or peace. By advocating independence from both France and England, Smith was able to convince voters that he would oppose aggression from any quarter.

Another Maryland Federalist who fared no better than Winchester in his battle for Congress was William Hindman. Running in the Eastern Shore district, he opposed Judge Joshua Seney. Hindman wrote McHenry at the height of the battle:

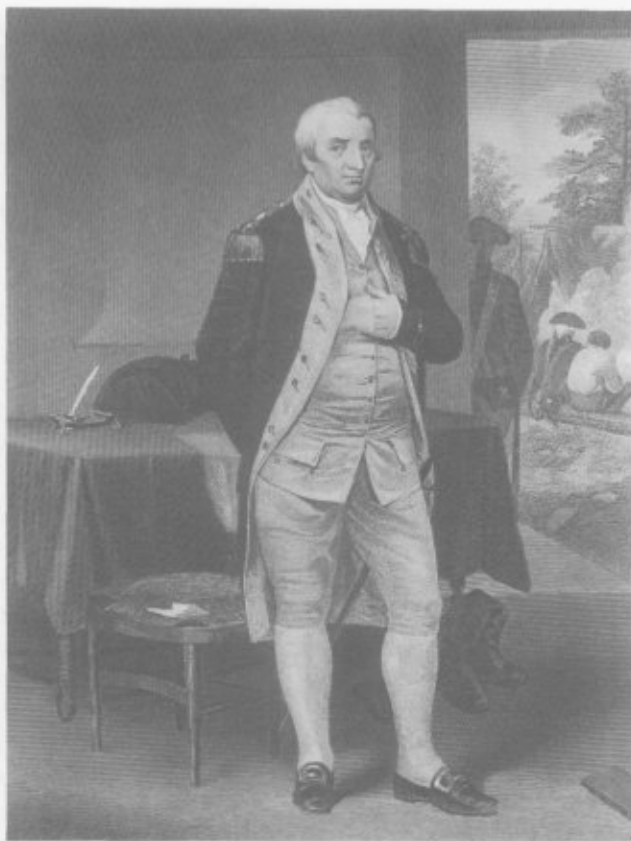
The cunning Jacobins discovered, that the People are generally incensed against the French, are now the Foremost in abusing them, and affect much Wrath at being thought attach'd to that Nation, I hope this Deception will not avail them.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 27, 1798.

¹⁷ James Ash to James McHenry, Aug. 24, 1798, McHenry Papers, IV, L. C.

¹⁸ See *Ibid.* Also David Stewart to James McHenry, Sept. 15, 1798, McHenry Papers, V, L. C., and James Winchester to James McHenry, April 18, 1798, cited in Bernard C. Steiner, *The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Cleveland, 1907), pp. 305-306.

¹⁹ Steiner, *Life of McHenry*, p. 335. Steiner mistakenly (error, p. 236) says that Hindman won the election. Actually the reverse is true. For the correct results, see Frederick Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland, Its Early History and Development* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 359.



Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. *Library of Congress.*

Just as in the Smith-Winchester battle, so too in the Eastern Shore contest, Seney was able to convince the voters that moderation was in the best interest even as he condemned what the French had done. Predominantly Federalist, the seventh district could only be won by a Republican who ran as an independent.²⁰ By firmly advocating a middle course between England and France, Seney promised to maintain American independence.

Hindman contended that he had been unable to campaign as actively as he wished due to an accident at a wedding that he had attended. The unsuccessful Federalist really believed that his campaign had failed because of the extremes to which the Federalists had gone in their zeal to silence dissent. According to Hindman, the Sedition Law was responsible for Federalist failure in Maryland.

²⁰ Emory, *Queen Anne's County*, p. 359.

The Sedition Bill by Them called the Gag-Law, They build much upon [Hindman wrote,] & I fear with too much Truth, as the basest misrepresentations are made of that Law, which have made such unfavorable Impressions upon the Minds of the People, that it will be impossible to remove Them in Time. . . . You can have no Idea of the violence & virulence of the Jacobins here, wonderful to relate their numbers are increasing beyond Calculation.²¹

Hindman reminded McHenry that he had warned his Congressional colleagues of just such an adverse reaction when he voted for the Sedition bill. Seney's memory had apparently been as good as Hindman's, and he had not allowed the voters to forget the Federalist's stand in June, 1798. When Seney died before taking office, the seventh district turned to another moderate, Republican Joseph Hopper Nicholson of Queen Anne's County.

The results of the Congressional election suggest that Marylanders, though outraged with France, were decidedly opposed to war. The defeat of Winchester and Hindman did not mean that nationalism was lacking in Maryland; it only demonstrated that Republicans were able to convince voters that their abhorrence of France equaled that of the Federalists. The Republican shift away from earlier support of France could be seen during the resolution-drafting in Frederick County, where citizens of both parties joined in supporting the actions of President John Adams. Among those who signed patriotic pledges from Hagerstown was Daniel Hiester who would later represent the district as a staunch Republican in the Seventh Congress. A second petition from Hagerstown, signed by both Republicans and Federalists, heatedly denounced France but also expressed the hope of peace.²²

The lack of rigidity in party structure in Maryland was apparent in the Frederick-Washington-Allegany district as it had been in the others. George Baer, a moderate Federalist who had refused to support Howard's attack on Smith, was pitted against the moderate Republican, Daniel Hiester. Hiester won in Washington County by a vote of 1340-936, but Baer was elected in the district by a majority of 511. Among Hiester's supporters in Maryland were General Thomas Sprigg and Nathaniel Rochester. Both of these Republicans had participated in drafting supporting petitions to John Adams. In Washington County, the Federalist party had more voters than did the Republican party. Republican success was again due to the party's ability to

²¹ William Hindman to James McHenry, Aug. 12, 1798, McHenry Papers, Md. Hist. Soc. In a Letter to Secretary of State Timothy Pickering written the day before Hindman's letter to McHenry, John Marshall wrote, "I am entirely persuaded that with many the hate of the government of our country is implacable & that if these bills [Alien and Sedition Laws] did not exist the same clamor would be made by them on some other account but there are also many who are guided by very different motives & who tho less noisy in their complaints are seriously uneasy on this subject." Marshall to Pickering, Aug. 11, 1798, Marshall photostats and transcripts, L. C.

²² See Thomas J. C. Williams, *A History of Washington County, Maryland From the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time Including a History of Hagerstown* (Hagerstown, 1906), p. 109.

dispel the stigma of close association with France and to win over the moderate Federalists.

Cecil, Harford and Kent counties at the northern end of Chesapeake Bay had always been Federalist. Yet Gabriel Christie, a Republican, defeated the incumbent Federalist, William Matthews. On the whole, the Federalists were able to pick up only one new Congressman in Maryland while they lost three. The division in the Federalist party of Maryland provides the best illustration of the difficulties confronting that party in the middle Atlantic states. Federalists divided over what course could lead to national independence in 1798. They were unable to cope with the moderates' claim that love of country surpassed loyalty to political party.

To be sure, much of the division was also due to personal hostilities between various Federalist leaders. Personal hatreds often competed with differences in principle in dividing party members. Thus John Dennis of Worcester County openly led a faction in supporting Adams in 1800 with the understanding that Adams would get rid of James McHenry and Timothy Pickering.²³ Thomas Johnson, an important Federalist from Montgomery, also supported Adams. On the other hand, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, supposedly the head of the state party, and James McHenry both opposed Adams and supported Hamilton. Carroll wrote McHenry that Adams' "shifting policies, his passions, his indiscretion, vanity and jealousy" must be exposed to the public. Carroll further contended that Adams' inherent honesty could not cover up for his other political sins. "Mr. Adams is not fit to be President," he wrote McHenry, "and his unfitness should be made known to the Electors and Publick; I conceive it a species of treason to conceal from the Publick his incapacity."²⁴

Personal rivalries surely did play a part in Federalist disunity. But equally important were basic differences over which policy would promote the independence of the new nation. The concern for principle, which was expressed by James Ash and David Stewart in the Baltimore Smith-Winchester battle or William Hindman in his bid for re-election, was also very important. Personal animosities and moderates' expressions of nationalism above party interest led to political deterioration in 1798 and complete ruin for the Federalists in 1800. The party never again enjoyed complete control of Maryland.²⁵

The moderation of Marylanders was manifested in the election returns as well as the positions taken by some state leaders at the time of the XYZ

²³ George Gibbs, ed., *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams, From the Letters of Oliver Wolcott* (New York, 1846), II, p. 352.

²⁴ Carroll to McHenry, Nov. 4, 1800, cited in Edward G. Roddy, "Maryland and the Presidential Election of 1800," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LVI (September, 1961), p. 247. Stephen Kurtz in *The Presidency of John Adams* (Philadelphia, 1957), pp. 96-113 emphasized the personal dislike which existed between such national leaders as Hamilton and Adams.

²⁵ Roddy, "Election of 1800," p. 244.



Cartoon featuring Albert Gallatin. Library of Congress.

Affair. That many were more concerned with preserving the independence of the nation than with political allegiance was reflected in John Henry's address to the Maryland legislature concerning a Constitutional amendment proposed by Massachusetts. The amendment would have made it mandatory that any future elected federal official be a natural-born citizen or have been a citizen at the time of the Declaration of Independence. In addition, it stipulated that any candidate for high federal office must have been a continual resident in the United States or have been employed abroad in its service during the interim between 1776 and 1798.²⁶ Governor Henry supported the amendment with a peculiar combination of moderation and nativism. Although a leading Federalist in Maryland during the 1790's,²⁷ Henry deplored the rising English influence in America. He reportedly told a group of legislators in 1797 that all good patriots should rally to Thomas Jefferson's support as he was the only man who could "stop the torrent of English influence."²⁸ In his address to the legislature, Henry argued that there was no "physical virtue" in a citizen's birthplace. Yet, one's homeland produced "a predominant affection and preference in its favor, which no time nor scarcely any circumstances will eradicate." In the final analysis, Henry supported the amendment, but he did so very reluctantly. Throughout his speech, the governor made it clear that he regretted that America

²⁶ Copy in Executive Papers of Governor James Wood of Virginia, Virginia State Library, Richmond. The amendment was subsequently ratified by Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, and New Hampshire as well as Massachusetts.

²⁷ See Libero Marx Renzulli's "Maryland Federalism 1787-1819" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1962), p. 264.

²⁸ David McMechin to James McHenry, Dec. 7, 1798, V.F., Md. Hist. Soc.



Thomas McKean. *Library of Congress.*

could not support the liberal doctrine of universal citizenship. He blamed European nations for being too nativistic.²⁹

The XYZ Affair forced Henry, like so many of his contemporaries, to grapple with the tension between the various types of freedom which the Revolution implied, on the one hand, and the need for maintaining a genuine devotion to an orderly central government capable of preventing European domination on the other. The desire for “grandeur and security” which Henry expressed overpowered any desire for freedom to advocate the “system of Liberty” which would allow foreign-born citizens to rule the nation. Yet in the governor’s speculation that perhaps it was too early for Americans to adopt such systems was the germ of compromise.

Revision in party alignments caused by basic disagreement over what policy would preserve the national government could be seen in New Jersey as well as Maryland long before the election of 1800. Here, as in Maryland, the Republicans gained in the 1798 mid-term elections for the House of Representatives. Previously a solidly Federalist state, New Jersey had an ever growing number of Republicans who made strong inroads in Essex and Morris counties and were beginning to establish an effective organization in Bergen and Middlesex. In order to prevent a Republican victory in Essex, the Federalists in the legislature redistricted the state in 1798. Essex was combined with more strongly Federalist Bergen and Middlesex. Morris County was joined to Sussex to forestall Republican advances there.

²⁹ *Philadelphia Aurora*, Nov. 16, 1798.

In the normally Federalist area of Hunterdon-Somerset, only a very informal Republican party machine existed. Yet the Republicans were able to win the district in 1798 largely because the Federalists were split in the selection of candidates. James Linn, the Republican, was able to get 1613 votes to his Federalist opponents' totals of 979 and 554. Apparently Federalists were disillusioned by their split, for a comparison of earlier and later election returns from the district indicates that many Federalists simply did not vote at all.

New Jersey elected a majority of three Republicans out of five representatives to the House in 1798. It marked the first time that the state had elected any Republicans at all to the House of Representatives. While the Federalists blamed their own redistricting for their failure, in fact, it was the schism within their own party that did much more to insure their defeat. John Condit, a doctor from one of the oldest families in New Jersey, beat James Schuremann, the incumbent Federalist merchant who had distinguished himself in the Revolutionary War. In the Morris-Sussex district, Aaron Kitchell defeated his Federalist opponent even though the Republicans had some difficulty selecting him as a candidate.³⁰

While it would be a distortion to suggest that the XYZ Affair was the sole issue over which battles were fought, the Federalists nonetheless divided primarily over what action should be taken toward France. Moderates supported preparations for defense rather than a declaration of war. The Republicans, moreover, were able to make use of the bitterly anti-English prejudices in the state to develop a strong political machine. An anonymous letter from a gentleman in New Jersey to a friend in Alexandria emphasized the anti-English feelings in New Jersey because of the many deaths in the Revolution. Yet he was full of praise for the "military spirit which pervades the whole of this country." He pledged that New Jersey could raise a larger contingent of troops, better equipped and trained than any other state in the nation. "Should we ever be invaded by the French, they will meet with as difficult a job as the British did during our contest for independence," he exclaimed. Rather than pay "a singel [*sic*] cent of tribute," people in New Jersey preferred to expend their "utmost vigor." In the crisis with France, it was essential, according to this New Jerseyite, to demand a strict account from those to whom the people had delegated the management of domestic affairs.³¹

This Republican moderation appealed to many voters in New Jersey who had drafted resolutions of support to the President during the spring of 1798. During the summer and fall of 1798, the Federalists disagreed among them-

³⁰ See Carl Prince, *New Jersey's Jeffersonian Republicans, The Genesis of an Early Party Machine, 1798-1817* (Chapel Hill, 1967), pp. 26-31.

³¹ Philadelphia *Aurora*, Nov. 12, 1798.

selves over the Sedition Law and the declaration of war with France. As the threat of an invasion by the French diminished, the voters readdressed themselves to questions of maintaining their liberties at home.

The Republican party was able to capitalize on many of the same issues in Pennsylvania that it had in the other middle Atlantic states. The same moderation which insisted that America must maintain her independence but must not sacrifice her liberties persisted. The attitude of the Philadelphia *Aurora* reflected this appeal to moderation.

It is very extraordinary . . . that the American Legislature should wish to shackle the liberty of the press, in order to suppress the desperate and almost avowed hirelings of France. The strong and manly ground which the government of the United States has taken in the dispute with France, places it above all the petty artifices which a despotic government uses to prop its declining power. . . . It is a scandal for a representative government which stands so high in the world's opinion, to infringe a grand principle in order to reach a few base incendiaries. . . . The consequences of such proceedings must be fatal to liberty.³²

In the off-year elections, Republicans picked up an additional seat in the House of Representatives. This gave them an eight to five majority over the Federalists. Just as in Maryland and New Jersey, there was a good deal of political shifting in Pennsylvania during 1797 and 1798.³³ Considerable evidence suggests Federalist schism over questions of personal liberty and national independence. In Allegheny, Washington and Greene counties where Federalists faced the formidable opposition of Albert Gallatin, they "proved to be their own worst enemies." Presley Neville and John Woods each wanted the same seat. The leading Federalists in the district tried to get Neville to withdraw in favor of Woods, but Neville obstinately held out until very near the election. By the time he withdrew, the party was badly divided. Woods took Allegheny County by 447 votes, but Gallatin was able to muster 2163 to 714 in Washington and a considerable margin in Greene, winning by 1740 votes. Even in Philadelphia County, the Federalists put up two candidates and lost. Benjamin Say and Anthony Morris were pitted against Michael Leib, a Philadelphia surgeon who had gained prominence in the Revolutionary War. The Republican leader of the German immigrants, Peter Muhlenberg, was successful in the Bucks, Northampton and Montgomery district. The only gain for the Pennsylvania Federalists in the House of Representatives was in the Bedford, Franklin and Huntingdon district where the Federalist lawyer and land speculator, Henry Woods, replaced the Republican Presbyterian minister, David Bard.³⁴

³² *Aurora*, Nov. 3, 1798.

³³ Harry Marlin Tinkcom, *The Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 1790-1800: A Study in National Stimulus and Local Response* (Harrisburg, 1950), p. 196.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-189.



Jonathan Dayton. By Albert Rosenthal. *Library of Congress.*

The legislative elections of 1799 brought a majority of Republicans to the Pennsylvania House of Delegates for the first time even though sentiment against France was still running high. Republicans in Pennsylvania were consistent in their denunciation of French duplicity. The change in attitude on the part of many Republicans had been obvious when following the publication of the XYZ dispatches only 23 Republicans voted against an address of support to Adams in December, 1798. Earlier in the year, before the extent of French duplicity was known, the legislature had barely missed passing a resolution ordering their Congressmen to vote against war with any European power because the cost of such a war would be too high, and the results would be uncertain. This resolution had been defeated by a margin of only 37-33.³⁵

Governor Thomas Mifflin, a moderate Republican, opened the session in 1798 with an address in which he condemned France for her bad behavior and rather traditionally suggested that all would be well in the United States if only political parties did not destroy the nation. Mifflin spoke also of the "calumnies with which the American character has been insulted," of the "unanimity in the resolution of the people to maintain the dignity and the rights of our Government against the arrogance and the force of every foreign power," and of "the wisdom and patriotism of those, to whom the Federal authority is intrusted."³⁶ Despite expressions of patriotism which

³⁵ *The South Carolina Gazette*, April 12, 1798.

³⁶ *Philadelphia Aurora*, Dec. 7, 1798.

middle Atlantic Republicans like Mifflin shared with their Federalist opponents, the governor was critical of the repressive legislation passed by Congress during the summer months.

Opposition to the Alien and Sedition laws and the "window taxes" imposed by the Federalists was manifested in the Fries Rebellion of 1799 as well as the gubernatorial contest that year. Thomas McKean, the Republican candidate, defeated James Ross, one of the few popular Federalists from western Pennsylvania.³⁷ Clearly the "window taxes" and the Sedition Law were responsible for Ross' defeat.

The loss of the House of Delegates for the first time by the Federalists in 1799 signaled the final doom of that party in the state. Just as in the case of Maryland and New Jersey, that part of the nationalism of Pennsylvanians which was concerned with maintaining territorial integrity and independence was strong as long as there was danger of a French invasion. Once that threat had disappeared, however, they concentrated on domestic liberties. Their prime concern was freedom of expression and freedom from excessive taxation. Republicans appealed to love of country and the national constitution as they attacked the usurpation of power by the Executive in the case of the Sedition Laws and the disorder which resulted from excessive taxation. In an open letter to the public, the leaders of the Republican party appealed to those liberties that Americans were assured under their Federal charter.

The present crisis in the political affairs of the United States, [they claimed] demands the attention of every lover of his country, since the exertion of every power, which the Constitution reserved to the People, has obviously become indispensable to the preservation of the republican system, to the peace of the nation, and to the harmony of society.³⁸

McKean was run as an "experienced patriot," a man who had "always evinced a steady attachment to Union, Government and Order." As early as September, 1798, Albert Gallatin received addresses from his constituents severely critical of French depredations on American ships and French insults to the American character, but also very concerned at the abrogation of free speech and free press.³⁹ As the foreign threat subsided, voters in the Middle States became less concerned with national defense and more concerned with the preservation of their liberties. But, as the statements of McKean and Gallatin suggest, this did not mean a decline in nationalist feeling.

³⁷ For the details of the election see Tinkcom, *Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania*, pp. 239-240, as well as the *Philadelphia Gazette*, Sept. 28, 1799.

³⁸ J. P. G. Muhlenberg, et al., to the Public, April 9, 1799, in the Albert Gallatin Papers, Box 5, New York Historical Society Library.

³⁹ See Washington County Petition to Albert Gallatin, Sept. 22, 1798, and the Green County Address of September, 1798, both in the Gallatin Papers.

It meant, rather, an enlargement of its scope, because the defense of civil liberties was couched in the same phrases as the earlier defense of national honor.

Federalists in the Middle States found it very difficult to agree on candidates because of the party's difference of opinion on war with France. Secretary of War James McHenry insisted that the Federalists were badly divided "*in their opinions* about the men they wish[ed] to be chosen."⁴⁰ The New England Federalists George Cabot and Theodore Sedgwick were persistent prophets of despair after they failed to get a formal declaration of war against France in July, 1798. "I have long been one of the Desponding Patriots," Cabot confided in June. If only the country would act "as it ought," things might go well for the party and country.⁴¹ Theodore Sedgwick tried to be optimistic that all Federalists with the exception of William Bingham of Pennsylvania would vote for war, but he could not hide his depression at the power of the enemies of government. For Sedgwick the fall elections were of vital importance, but as early as July he warned that the Federalist party would lose unless war was declared.⁴² In contrast to Cabot and Sedgwick, the Moderate Bingham, fretful about the state of the American economy and still opposed to England and the Jay Treaty, counseled the government not to overstep the "Bounds of Prudence."⁴³ His judgment helped to foil the New Englanders' desire for an open declaration of war.

In New York, the ardent Federalist, Robert Troup, was confused by the political dissention in his state. While he insisted on the one hand that opposition to the government had completely broken down after the publication of the XYZ dispatches, he also argued that the strength of the opposition and its "deadly animosity" against the administration made it miraculous that anything at all had been accomplished.⁴⁴

The spirits of our country are highly elevated; [Troup wrote] and you may proclaim it everywhere, that we will pay tribute to no nation, and that we shall water our soil with our blood and suffer every hardship before we yield to the imperious demand of any foreign nation.⁴⁵

Despite Troup's confidence in the future, the off-year elections in New York followed the same pattern that they had in the other Middle States. Republicans picked up one additional member in the House of Representatives in the 1798 election when the formerly Federalist counties, Clinton and Rensselaer, returned Republican John Thompson. Thompson's opponent

⁴⁰ McHenry to William L. Smith, Aug. 20, 1798, Smith Papers.

⁴¹ Cabot to King, June 6 and Aug. 18, 1798. Charles R. King, ed., *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King* (New York, 1895), II, pp. 333-334 and 397.

⁴² Sedgwick to King, July 1, 1798, *ibid.*, p. 352.

⁴³ Bingham to King, June 5, 1798, *ibid.*, p. 331.

⁴⁴ Troup to King, June 3, 1798, *ibid.*, pp. 329-330.

⁴⁵ Troup to King, July 10, 1798, *ibid.*, p. 363.



John Eager Howard. By Michael Laty
after Charles W. Peale.
Maryland Historical Society.

was John Williams, a former Republican turned Federalist.⁴⁶ In the Sixth Congress, the Republicans thus had six members to the Federalists' four. Republicans in New York appealed to patriotism. Taking the same moderate position on war with France, they sought to show that they were not disloyal to their country. An Albany catechism drafted by the Republicans instructed its readers, "After thy creator, love thy country above all things. She alone, ought to fix thy thought and direct thy actions: Thy life is hers."⁴⁷

While the Federalists dominated the state legislature as they had in Pennsylvania during 1798, an increasing number of members of the lower house who had been elected as Federalists began voting with the Republicans.⁴⁸ Federalist disunity and Republican resourcefulness could be seen in the way each party used the Sedition Law. When the moderate Federalist, Judge Jedidiah Peck, was taken as a prisoner from Cooperstown to New York City, citizens' anger against the Federalists burst into a storm of protest. As a member of the New York assembly, Peck had circulated a petition against the Alien and Sedition Acts. When the New York district attorney brought charges against him for violation of the Sedition Act, a bench warrant was issued, and Peck was arrested. His passage from Otsego to New York brought throngs of people into the

⁴⁶ Jabez D. Hammond, *The History of Political Parties in the State of New York, From the Ratification of the Federal Constitution to December, 1840* (Syracuse, 1852), I, p. 115.

⁴⁷ "Precepts of Reason," *Barber and Southwick's Almanack for 1798*, unpagged, cited in Alfred F. Young's *The Democratic Republicans of New York, The Origins, 1763-1797* (Chapel Hill, 1967), p. 579.

⁴⁸ See Hammond, *History of Political Parties in New York*, pp. 126-133.

streets of the various towns through which he passed. Peck became "a suffering martyr for the Freedom of speech and the press, and the right of petitioning." Republican newspapers cried that the rule of George III had been "gracious and loving" compared to the way in which Peck was dragged from his home at midnight to be manacled by "tyrants."⁴⁹ By the time the Federalists realized what a mistake they had made and dropped the charges, the Republicans had made all of the political capital they needed. What was significant about the incident and cases like it in other states was the outrage which it engendered in the voters. American patriots took their liberties very seriously.

That the Republicans succeeded in dissociating themselves from the stigma of Francophilia in New York was shown not only by the mid-term elections of 1798 but also when New York City celebrated 15 years of freedom from British rule in the fall of that year. Emphasizing the need to dissociate from European politics, the Republicans cleverly blended the twin themes of Union and Liberty:

Let us [wrote one Republican editor] attend to our own concerns, maintain our constitution pure and unsullied, obey the laws, be united to a man against every foreign foe, and live in peace and harmony one with another. Let industry, economy, and patriotism, the love and practise of moral and social duties prevail in our city and through the Union at large; let us guard our rights, defend our Independence.⁵⁰

As early as May, 1798, Edward Livingston wrote Albert Gallatin that the elections in the fall would be very important for the other states because they would illustrate the effect of the XYZ dispatches. The results would show, said Livingston, "that without reference to any foreign connection we are determined to support republicanism at home."⁵¹

Republican victories in Maryland, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania were due largely to the promotion of independence in the international arena about which Livingston spoke. Republicans were able to dispel the notion that they were dupes of the French Directory in the immediate aftermath of publication of the XYZ dispatches. As the danger of an attack by France subsided, however, Republicans impressed upon the voters the need for the preservation of their liberties. They were able to fuse the twin themes of national independence and liberty. In doing so, they carried the patriotic symbols which they had used in connection with national sovereignty over to the realm of domestic liberty. National unity, national greatness, and national strength, Republicans pointed out, could only be main-

⁴⁹ See *ibid.*, pp. 132-133, and James Morton Smith, *Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties* (Ithaca, New York, 1956), p. 395.

⁵⁰ Philadelphia *Aurora*, Nov. 28, 1798.

⁵¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 132-133, and James Morton Smith, *Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition*

tained if both themes were kept strong in America. The transition from concern for international independence to concern for liberty did not obscure the earlier insistence that American foreign policy should be free of French and English influences however. Successful Republican candidates in the Middle States insisted that the United States must steer a policy based on her own self-interests. Because of their emphasis on both themes of popular nationalism, Republicans were able to exploit the divisions within the Federalist party over foreign policy and make significant gains in the middle Atlantic states.

The spirit of nationalism produced by the political debate which followed the XYZ Affair was a unique phenomenon. It was infected with the sense of mission, with the defense of individual liberty, with the republican experiment itself. As a result, nineteenth century American nationalism was a blend of ideas that, anywhere else, might have seemed contradictory—the firm, at times belligerent, defense of national honor and integrity on the one hand, and the equally firm defense of individual liberties on the other—in the conviction that the denial of either would result in the downfall of the Republic. The crisis of 1798, and the party conflict that accompanied it, did much to bring about that synthesis.

THE NARRATIVE OF JOHN KILBY

EDITED BY DURWARD T. STOKES

INTRODUCTION

JOHN KILBY, born in Vienna, Maryland, shipped aboard a privateer during the American Revolution. The ship was captured and Kilby was incarcerated almost two years in a prison in England. After being exchanged, he joined the crew of John Paul Jones and became quarter gunner aboard the *Bonhomme Richard*. In 1810, at the request of Thomas Ritchie, editor of the Richmond, Virginia *Enquirer*, the retired sailor wrote an account of his experiences. This *Narrative* is one of the four written by eye witnesses of the Cruise Around England and the battle with the *Serapis*. However, Kilby's manuscript remained the property of his descendants and its existence was known to few people until 1905. In that year, the publication by Charles Scribner's Sons of the *History of John Paul Jones, Founder of the American Navy* by Augustus C. Buell attracted the attention of Bradford Kilby, of Suffolk, Virginia, whose father, Judge Wilbur John Kilby, at that time owned the manuscript. A copy was sent to Buell, who edited it, and published it in *Scribner's Magazine*, XXXVII (1905). Before his death, in 1947, Bradford Kilby insured the preservation of the manuscript, which he inherited from his father, by presenting it to the Museum of the United States Naval Academy, where it remains today.

Unfortunately the Buell edition, evidently based upon insufficient research, was a faulty one. Not only incomplete, it contained flagrant errors. Other than the cruise with John Paul Jones, which is only a part of the story, Buell made little mention of the many persons and incidents described by Kilby. The English prison in which Kilby spent twenty-two months was referred to alternately as Mill Prison and Forton Jail and once as Portsea Prison. Actually, the first two were separate and distinct prisons, and Kilby was confined in only one of them. As for the third, there was no prison at Portsea for military prisoners. Neither contemporary English newspapers nor the correspondence of John Paul Jones were used to any extent in reference, and one account, written by a fellow prisoner of Kilby, was either overlooked or ignored. The historical value of the *Narrative* of John Kilby was actually weakened by such omissions.

In the second place, Buell transcribed the account into modern English, with many revisions in spelling and punctuation. Thus a great deal of the flavor of the original story was completely lost. Kilby was a self-educated

man, except for whatever he had been taught before he left home at the age of eighteen. His spelling was phonetical; his expressions those of the eighteenth century; and his grammatical construction not that of a scholar. Therefore, in changing his *Narrative* into modern English, supplying punctuation, quotation marks, and taking considerable liberties with the manuscript, the very meaning of the author was distorted. For instance, the 1905 edition used the word "sunrise" to replace the far more poetic "at borne of day," which was actually what Kilby wrote. Such changes robbed the story of its flavor and blurred the mental attitude of the writer. The manuscript is worn from years of handling, and it was written on paper of poor quality, probably with a goose quill pen. In spite of frayed edges and numerous blots, however, the *Narrative* is readable, and it has been minutely scrutinized in this edition.

None of the four accounts written by members of the crew of the *Bonhomme Richard* of the Cruise Around England agree in all details. Therefore, a study of all of them is necessary in order to obtain the complete picture of this phase of naval history. All were written years after the events took place, and all contain errors which were caused by the dimming of memories. Kilby's account was no exception, and any error made in his story has been acknowledged and corrected in the footnotes.

Almost all of the chronicles written about the famous Jones refer to the Buell edition of Kilby's account, with its faulty annotation. Until the present time, as far as can be determined, the original manuscript has not been quoted by authors since 1905. Buell's edition amounted to little more than an interesting tale of a seaman's career, with very little real information added to assist the reader in understanding it. Properly edited, the *Narrative* contains a wealth of historical data, some of it unique. The manuscript is far too important to be available only in an incorrect edition.

The following edition is presented exactly as it was composed in John Kilby's own handwriting. Nothing has been changed in the original manuscript, and explanatory remarks are contained in either brackets or footnotes. Despite the fairly large amount of the material available, only references necessary for clarifying the story have been used.

Regardless of the fact that in later years John Kilby became a lawyer and magistrate, the Maryland native remained a seaman at heart to the end of his days. Especially was he imbued with the true feeling of traditional naval loyalty and respect for rank. Often when he mentioned Richard Dale, he added the fact that he was then Commodore Dale. He always tried to designate the commander of a vessel when he named the ship. No titles of officers were omitted where proper respect required their use. To Kilby, John Paul Jones was always the Captain, the Commander, the Commodore, and he always spoke of Jones with respect.

At the same time, traits of the lawyer are evident in the writer throughout his story, both in expressions used and in the manner in which Kilby labeled his completed work. The manuscript is bound together with a ribbon, like legal documents of the time; and, as shown on the title page of this edition, the completed work was inscribed for filing in exactly the same manner used for legal papers. These small, but significant, details, omitted in 1905, are presented here exactly as they were composed by the narrator.

No reference has been made in footnotes to Buell's work, and this edition has been prepared as though no previous version had ever been attempted. Precautions have been taken to verify all details contained in the footnotes to assure the accuracy of the editorial comments. Lengthy research has been made to examine every name, place, and event mentioned, and the results have been stated. Other documents have been examined by the writer, even though they have been reprinted by reliable authors. The purpose of this edition has been to give a more complete picture of the narrator and his entire career, as well as his experiences under the command of John Paul Jones. In doing so, the intention has been to present an accurate and important Revolutionary account to replace the faulty, incomplete, and incorrect one which preceded it.

REPORT NO. 100 795

JOHN KILBY'S *NARRATIVE AS SEAMAN OF* *THE BONHOMME RICHARD*

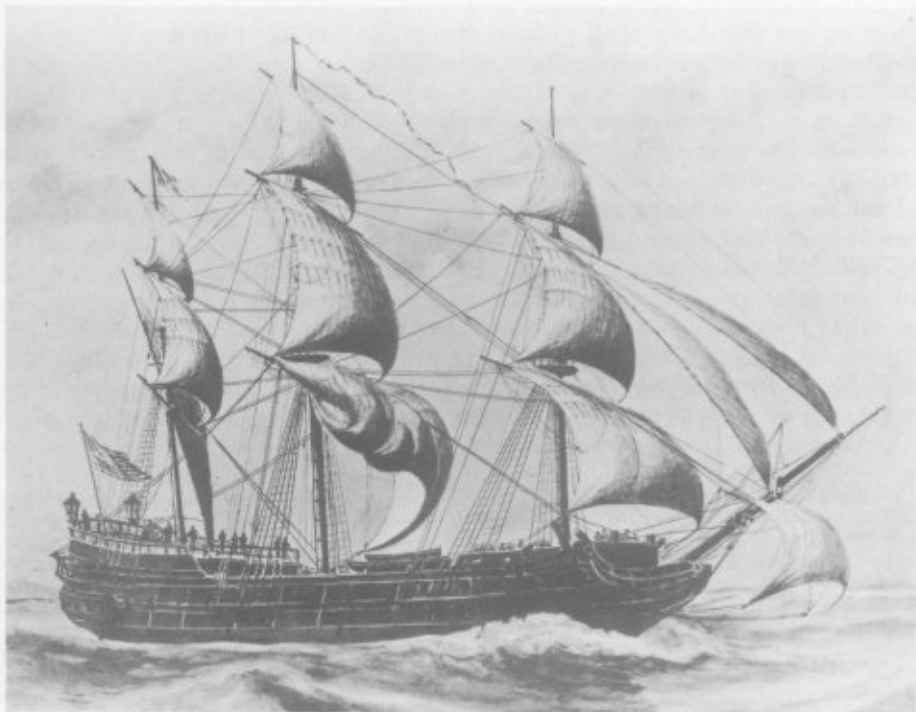
written at
Hanover County, Va.
Sep. 1810

Hanover County, September 1810 Mr. Thomas Ritchie:—You have many times requested of me to give you a full account of the Conduct and Behaviour of the Brave Hon. John Paul Jones, as also of my sufferings during the last Revolutionary War, and as often I have neglected to comply with that Request, all of which I now beg leave to apologize to your for; but now will endeavour to give you a Correct statement of his, the sd [said] Jones, behaviour and Conduct during the time I had the pleasure to sail under his Command, which was nearly 1½ years, having followed the sea from my Early Days. On 6 day of August, 1776, in the town of Vienna, Dorchester County, Maryland, the place that first gave me birth, I with many more Entered on board of the Brig *Sturdy Beggar*¹ of 14 Double Fortify 6 pounders, and to be manned with 100 men. This Brig Belonged to Messrs. Lucks, Boley, & Provinces of Baltimore, then lying in Newberne, North Carolina, to be commanded by James Campbell;² we went up to Baltimore where we lay 8 days, then went down the bay, under the Command of 1st Lieut. William Garlin, 2nd Lieut. Benjam Chew, sailing master, Gabriel Slakum, prize master, George Sampel, Jesse Harding, Robert Ewart, and many more officers

¹ Vienna, a small port of entry on the west bank of the Nanticoke river, Dorchester County, on Maryland's Eastern Shore, has streets which still show traces of paving with cobble-stones from the ballast of vessels that sailed there in years gone by. The Kilby family lived there as early as 1738. When, at the age of 18, young John left it to serve on the Brig *Sturdy Beggar*, the year was 1777, not 1776. Writing his *Narrative* thirty-three years after the event, Kilby will be pardoned such a lapse of memory. See Hulbert Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore* (New York, 1944), and genealogy in C. M. Kilby, *Kilby, Tynes, Riddick, Smith, Glazebrook, Etc.*, (Lynchburg, Virginia: Privately Printed, 1924).

² The *Sturdy Beggar* was a Maryland brig of 28 guns, carrying a crew of eighty men. First commissioned November 19, 1776, the brig arrived in the West Indies under the command of John McKeel. The ship made port at Newbern for repairs after the following event disclosed in the June 2, 1777 issue of the *Gazette of the State of South Carolina*: "Charles-Town, June 2: Capt. Green, laden with Arms, &c. was chased ashore upon the Outer Bank by an English Frigate on the 12th of May last; as was also the *Sturdy Beggar* Privateer of Baltimore. The privateer was got off."

The brig was recommissioned August 5, 1777. The owners were listed as Samuel and Robert Purviance, Lux, Bowley, and others, all of Baltimore, James Campbell was Master, William Coward, of Baltimore, was second mate, and Benjamin Chew was sailing master. James Campbell and Charles Wallace, of Annapolis, bonded the ship for \$10,000. See *Papers of the Continental Congress*, National Archives, Washington, D.C., Folio 196, Vol. 14, p. 73. Hereinafter cited as *Continental Congress*. Also, Charles Henry Lincoln, *Naval Records of the American Revolution 1775-1788* (Washington, 1906), and *Minutes of the Maryland Council of Safety*, National Archives.



U.S.S. *Bon Homme Richard*. 1779. Library of Congress.

of lower Rank. On our way down the bay we were pursued by the Enemy, and Compelled to put into a place called Chessconnessex, on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, where we lay 8 days at length arrived at Portsmouth near Norfolk (Virginia), where we lay 8 days, then set out and arrived at North landing, Virginia, at which place we all Remained 8 days, waiting for Crafts to take us on, then set off and arrived in Newbern, North Carolina, where the Brig then lay; at which place we found our Capt. James Campbell, the Commander.³ We then dropped down to Ocracock Barr.⁴ a lighter was to bring down

³ *The North Carolina Gazette* (Newbern), Aug. 8, 1777, contains the following advertisement: "New Bern, August 4, 1777—wanted immediately for the celebrated and well known Brig of War, *Sturdy Beggar*, under Command of James Campbell, Esq., now fitting out at this place for a short Cruise against the Enemies of the Thirteen United States, a few good seamen and Marines. The *Sturdy Beggar* is allowed to be the handsomest vessel ever built in America, is completely furnished with all kinds of warlike stores, Ammunition &c, is remarkable for fast sailing, having never chased a vessel but she came up with."

⁴ Ocracoke Inlet is a passage from Albemarle Sound in to the Atlantic Ocean. It runs between Hatteras and Ocracoke Islands, which are a part of the barrier Outer Banks of North Carolina. Generally shallow because of shifting sands, heavily laden ships could pass through the inlet only with great difficulty if at all. The vessels were customarily anchored on the ocean side of the inlet and the cargo was loaded onto lighters which could navigate the passage and carry loads to and from New Bern, which was situated at the juncture of the Neuse and Trent rivers.

our guns, because we could not get over the Barr with them on bd [board]. The lighter on her way down sunk with all of our guns on it, which detained us some time,⁵ at length we got them on bd and sailed on a Cruize. Campbell Shaped his Course for the bay of Biscay, and 15 day of Nov. 1776⁶ we fell in with a Double Deck Brig, called the Glasgo, from Glasgo [Glasgow], bound to St. Johns, new found land [Newfoundland], loaded with King's navel [naval] Stores, and we engaged her and after 1¼ hours we had Captured her;⁷ the sailing master, Gabrel Slakum, was put on board, she being a valuable prize, with orders to get in to any friendly port that he could. And on 1 day of Decbr. same year, we fell in with the ship called the Smurney gally [galley] of 18 guns, from Smurney bound to London, and after an action of ¾ of an houre Captured her. The invoice of her Cargo was Eighty thousand pounds sterling.⁸ We were then in the bay of Biscay. Prize master George Sampel, an Irishman, was put on bd. with a sufficient number of hands to work the ship. I was one of the hands put on bd, the *Sturdy Beggar* still in company with us. For several nights after we frequently fell in with many Dutch Dogers,⁹ Sampel, the prize master, many times would fire into

⁵ Joseph Leech to Governor Caswell (of North Carolina), reprinted in William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, N.C., 10 vols., 1886-1890), XI, p. 623: "New Bern Sept. 17, 1777. Capt. Bowling, in a Schooner bound out for the West Indies, has just returned from the Bar, having had a narrow escape from being taken as there came over Ocracoke Bar two Brigs, and came anchor in the lower road yesterday morning. They have been cruising in company with a Sloop for some time past, close in with the Bar, and between Cape Hatteras and Cape Lookout. I think very fortunate for this Town that the *Sturdy Beggar* met with the misfortune of having one of her lighters with provisions, shot &c on board, sank in Adams Creek, which detained the *Sturdy Beggar* in our river. What makes me think it is a lucky circumstance is, that the Enemy's knowing them two vessels the *Farmer* and the *Sturdy Beggar* being here, may perhaps prevent or discourage them coming directly up to Town, as we are in a very bad situation to prevent them, was it not for those two vessels."

Also, *The North Carolina Gazette* (Newbern), September 19, 1777: "New Bern—The *Sturdy Beggar* a privateer of 14 Carriage guns and 100 men. the State Brig *Pennsylvania Farmer*, of 16 guns, 80 men, belonging to this Town, are preparing to sail with all Expedition, in quest of the English pirates."

⁶ Kilby consistently dated all the events of the first year of his service as 1776, instead of 1777, which was the correct date. However, the days and months cited are approximately correct and show a remarkable recollection after more than thirty years.

⁷ The *Daily Advertiser* (London), January 8, 1778: Extract of a letter from Plymouth, Jan. 4. "Arrived the *Annice*, of Glasgow, Capt. Wilton, who was taken the 11th of November in Lat. 37 and Long 42, by the *Sturdy Beggar* Privateer, of 14 guns, and 96 Men, on her Voyage from Newfoundland to Jamaica, and retaken the 5 ult. off Cape Finisterre by the Bedford Man of War."

⁸ The *Daily Advertiser* (London), December 31, 1777: Extract of a Letter from on board the *Smyrna* galley, arrived in Standgate-Creek, Dec. 29 from Smyrna.

"On the 1st instant, about 80 leagues N.N.W. of Cape St. Vincents', we were taken by an American Privateer called the *Sturdy Beggar* which took two Bales of Silk out of us and some other Trifles, and ordered us for Bordeaux, but on our Way thither, off Cape Ortegál, on the 9th, we fell in with the *Resolution* of 74 Guns, which retook us. Our Cargo was computed to be worth near 80,000L."

Also, the *Daily Advertiser* (London), Jan. 3, 1778: Extract of a letter from Portsmouth, Jan. 1.

"Yesterday arrived at Motherbank the *Smyrna* Galley, Garret, from Smyrna, with Mohair, Silk, Cotton, Goat's Wool, &c. to the value of 60,000L. She sailed under convoy of the *Exeter* Man of War, which she lost, was afterwards taken by the *Sturdy Beggar* Privateer on the 1st of last Month, and retaken by the *Resolution* Man of War on the 10th. Capt. Garret and his Crew were put on board the Privateer, with two valuable Bales of Silk.

⁹ A Dogger was a two masted boat with a broad beam used by fishermen in the North Sea, especially in the area off the English coast known as the Dogger Bank. Many of these fishermen were Dutch.

them. I suppose he thought they were Enemies. Campbell, having his doubts of Sampel's true love for the Course he was then in, took him out, and put on bd. 2nd Lieut. Lake,¹⁰ an American, who had been an old Commander of ships out of Baltimore, altho a young man. On the 9th day of the same month and year, we were captured by the Resolution 74 guns, Commanded by Sir John Chandy Oglesby,¹¹ the Brig Sturdy Beggar then in sight, the man of war gave chase after the Rebel, as they called us. The little Brig halld [hauled] her wind and out sailed the 74. The evening began to be very squally, the Brig hove too, and Reefed Topsails. The officers of the 74 crys out the Rebel had struck. Lieut. Chew, observed they had not got the Rebel yet nor would they get her. The Brig filled her Topsails and kept close on a-wind. The 74 pressed so much sail that about ½ an houre by sun at night she carried away her four Topmast by the Cape, and lost 3 men overbrd. They then gave over chase. On 13th day of the same month and year we had an uncommon gail of wind which lasted nearly 50 hours. The 74 lost her main yard, and it was with great difficulty the ship could be saved. In the same gail the Sturdy Beggar was foundered and every sole was lost, for the latter information of which I shall here after explain. No. 1. On the 22nd day of Dec. 1776, we arrived in Spithead (England), where we to our great mortification found our other prize, the Brig Glasgo, laying in port, all prisoners together, we were all put on board the old Princess Amelia of 90 guns, then a guard ship, where we lay 2 months, then carried up to Hazel Hospital for trial and condemnation (a mock trial to be sure). After calling over all our names, the Judge Rises up, and pronounced sentence in these words, to wit,¹² you are all condemned for piracy and high treason on his majesty's high seas! (Here permit me to say) I wish to know who gave him the high seas. So it was that we were all marched up to Fortune's Jail,¹³ formerly Queen Anne's Hospital, under a strong guard of soldiers, and locked up by 9 o'clock at night, in the Cold Sweating walls with about 800 more of brave Americans, many of whom was from this state, some of which I will name. Capt. John Harris, of Hamton [Hampton, Virginia], Commander of the Muskeeto Brig, Capt. Alexr. Dick, his Capt. of Marines. A Mr. Moore, Capt. Meredith, also of Hamton, and many more not necessary to

¹⁰ Because of the worn condition of the manuscript this name may not have been read accurately.

¹¹ The name of the British commander was Sir John Chandler Oglesby, although the *Daily Advertiser* (London), Dec. 30, 1777, refers to the commander of the *Resolution* as "Captain Ogle."

¹² After John Kilby retired from the sea, he became a lawyer and magistrate in Hanover County, Virginia. An occasional phrase in his manuscript such as the "to wit," are indicative of his familiarity with legal terminology.

¹³ The trial was held at the Royal Naval Hospital at Haslar and located in Gosport, across the harbor from Portsmouth. It has been an active institution since 1746. According to M. J. W. Willis-Fear, Archivist of the City of Portsmouth, and Robert Sunderland Horne, Honorable Historian of HM Dockyard at Portsmouth, two prisons were opened in the summer of 1777 for the express purpose of housing captured seamen. Mill Prison was at Plymouth, and Forton Prison was at Gosport. It was the latter in which Kilby and his companions were confined on January 23, 1778. See John S. Barnes, ed., *Fanning's Narrative, Being the Memoirs of Nathaniel Fanning An Officer of the Revolutionary Navy 1778-1783* (New York, 1912), pp. 8-10, for a description of the prison. Fanning later served as an officer on the *Bonhomme Richard*. After 1815, Forton Prison was remodelled into Marine Barracks, and the buildings are standing today.



Main Gate of Forton Barracks. 1971. *Author's Collection.*

name,¹⁴ in which place we lay 22 months (say our Crew, some much longer). Capt. Harris and his Crew lay there 28 months, during the time in Rebels allowance which is $\frac{2}{3}$ of what is allowed to prisoners of war. I will here state what we got without any change during the time we were there; we had 9 ounces of the worst kind of Beef, the whole Bullock Cut up with a Butcher's Cleaver, bone & all, then waid [weighed] out together, ty'd up in messes, Either 4 or 6, just as we choosed to have it, that was Boiled all together in one large Coper [copper], or Copers,¹⁵ in nothing but Clear water. At 12 o'clock, one man from each mess attended at a window and Recd [received] our allowance of Beef, and one pint of the soup as they so called it; of bread we had it served out every 3 days, and 4 ounces of salt per week. This we got Every day, Saturdays Excepts, for that day all the Navy of England has ban yan day, and gets only cheese and burgue¹⁶ the Cheese of the meanest kind; we had on these days, 9 ounces of Cheese, and a small wooden platter of burgue; up on that allowance did we all live during the time of our imprisonment; for me to inform you, how many planns we laid to Extricate our selves from that unpleasant place, will perhaps astonish you, but they are as true as that we were there. altho there were forever, both night and day, Soldiers keeping guard in ever part of the Jail, it being 3 or 4 Story high,

¹⁴ William Richard Cutter, ed., "A Yankee Privateersman in Prison in England 1777-1779 (Journal of Timothy Connor)," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXX, XXXI, and XXXII, (1876-1878), hereinafter cited as *Connor Journal*, XXXII, pp. 36-39. Connor made a detailed roster of prisoners in Forton Prison from 1777 to 1779. He listed twenty-two members of the crew of the *Sturdy Beggar*. Connor's roll also included Captain John Harris, Captain Alexander Dick, and Alexander Moore, of the "*Miscator*," of Virginia, and Captain John Meredith. Also, Walter Drew McCaw, "Captain John Harris of the Virginia Navy," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XXII (April, 1914), pp. 160-172.

¹⁵ A copper kettle.

¹⁶ Burgoo was a thick oatmeal gruel or porridge. Banyan day was that on which no meat was served.

we would cut holes through the ceiling, go up in the garrit, and then cut a hole on the chimney. the fireplaces, all of which had long before been fixed up with Brick, so that not one spark of fire was allowed us during our stay there. then, go down the Chimney by Cord taken from our hammocks, and with the pockets cut out of our Cloths, first Dig under the foundations of the Wall, haul up the Dirt and sto it away until we had gone outside of the piquets.¹⁷ then draw lots how many, and who should go and take their Chance once more for liberty. This was done in many parts of the houses that we were confined in. The penalty of detection & Brought back, was that they were put in the Black hole, a dungeon, for 40 days and nights, put on bread & water, and put on the list of the last Rebels that was Committed. altho the penalty was so great, many made the attempt and some actually succeeded in giting away. Case No. 1.¹⁸ Capt. Cortney, Commander of the Oliver Cromwell, of Philadelphia,¹⁹ and 100 more, laid a plan to make their Escape, it was this, to man the piquets, Kill the sentinels, and run off in the open day. The watch word was given & they did make the attempt. The whole guard fired on them as they Run by, some were killed. Cortney fell but actually got away. Many were taken up and brought in again, then Condemned to the Black Hole, a dungin, for 40 days & nights on the allowance before named.²⁰ Case No. 2. The pavement of the lower floors, for they were all laid with bricks, they managed to take up the brick, dig down until they got below the wall, then dig outside the piquets. This was all done by Concealing the dirt in some parts of the prison. Then draw lots as before. at this trip 10 men all officers made their Escape. To wit, 2nd Lieut. Benjmn. Chew, Jessee Harding, Robert Ewart, Benjmn. Whalen, all of whom were my officers. Capt. Meredith, of Hamton, Capt. Dick, a Mr. Moore, a Mr. Martin, Col. Wiber, & Col. Bebitrong, the two last sailed in the Bonhomme Richard, and had command as Cols.²¹ Case No.

¹⁷ Pickets of the fence that surrounded the prison.

¹⁸ Another evidence of the legal phraseology with which Kilby was familiar at the time that he wrote his story.

¹⁹ *Connor Journal*, XXXII, p. 37, listed Hammon Corter as Captain of the *Oliver Cromwell*. The roster was made phonetically, and slight differences in spelling of proper names is quite common.

²⁰ More men participated in this attempt to escape than any other mentioned by Kilby. It is quite likely that this event was referred to in the *Daily Advertiser* (London), Dec. 15, 1777: Extract of a Letter from Gosport, Dec. 12. "On Wednesday Morning, about Four o'Clock, the Town was alarmed by the Drums beating to Arms, the Prisoners at Forton attempting to break out; but by timely Assistance they were secured; three only got away, and two of them have since been taken."

²¹ *Connor Journal*, XXXI, p. 287, described the escape as follows: "Friday, 24th (July). Last night ten of our officers made their escape by cutting a hole through their chamber floor into the Black Hole, and have got off clear, and have not been heard of since. They were as follows: Capt. Hinman, Capt. Dannis, Capt. Murphy, Capt. Chew, Capt. Slacomb, Dr. Burns, Mr. Wailland, Mr. Lagear, Mr. Tryon, Mus. [sic] Bubotrong, a French gentleman."

Captain Dick evidently did not escape with this group, for on August 19, 1778, Benjamin Chew wrote from Bordeaux to Benjamin Franklin on behalf of the prisoners in Forton, especially Mr. Alexander Dick, "a gentleman of considerable fortune in Virginia who is in a wretched state of health . . ." See I. Minnis Hays, ed., *Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 5 Vols., 1908), I, p. 479. Hereinafter cited as *Franklin Papers*.

Colonel Wilber was Antoine-Felix Wybert (also spelled Weiber). An experienced officer and veteran of the famous Bougainville cruise, he became a lieutenant colonel of French Marines aboard the *Bonhomme Richard* and later served in the United States Army. *Connor Journal*, XXXII, p. 37, listed Mr. Babatrang, "Gent'n."

3. a like plan was laid, when many more got of nearly as before, among which was a Mr. Lecheor, of South Carolina.²² Case No. 4. a Mr. Greenleaf, a printer by trade of Philadelphiia,²³ by some means procured lady's Cloths, and actually marched out of the gates in the day time as the turn keys were often passing to & fro. Case No. 5. we Cut a hole through the sealing up garret, went down a 3 Story Chimney & 30 men went out, but by bad measurement of the ground, when they were to Rise up, they fell short. They Rised up just at Borne of day & directly in a very large hog sty. The hogs made such noise that the Turn keys made the alarm and Every sole Brought back.²⁴ Case No. 6. at another time very much in the same way, Capt. Dennis, of Boston, Commander of the Duke of Linotes, his Doct. Burns, and several others got off.²⁵ Case No. 7. Capt. Hinman, and his 1st Lieut. Richards, and others made their Escape,²⁶ Many more cases I could mention; Case No. 8. a much worse one than any heretofore. A Certain Capt. Parsons, who done duty over us, openly told his guard, that if any one of them would Kill a Rebel, he'd give them 5 guineas. A Certain man by name Patrick Spellman, a Corporal, one of his guard, went into the guard house, Brought out his musquit [musket], pointed her through the piquets, and fired through the yard, when a Bought 300 or 400 of us were walking to and froe. the Ball went through the body of Bartholomew White, of Philadelphia, a Taylor by trade. Notwithstanding he lived nearly 24 hours.²⁷ The last time he spoke, was he hoped we would Revenge his cause. they Call'd an Inquest, and summoned from amongst us a 11 men. I myself was one, Doctr. Perkins another,²⁸ so on till they made up 11 of us, and 12 of their Owne, making in all 23 men (an English Inquest), one of their Owne Cooly held out 2 days, Still insisting on it to be a willfull murder. The Coroner himself made a long Speech, and sd [said] It never would do for hone of his majesty's subjects to be Condemned for a Rebel at length poor fellow gave way. but sd to this last, that his mind was not well Satisfy'd. Spellman the 3rd day after, was made Sargent. they went as far as to erect a gallows just before the gates, and some of them would abuse us by saying that we would all be hanged by the neck on that gallows. After giving this out it will be nothing but Right & Just to say there were some very friendly to us, and I believe to the American Cause. Many proved it; Capt. O'Kelly, the owner of the famous horse, Eclipse,

²² This name is not found on Connor's roster.

²³ *Connor Journal*, XXXII, p. 38, listed a Thomas Greenleaf. The prisoner was the son of Joseph Greenleaf of Boston who wrote Benjamin Franklin on January 9, 1779, seeking an exchange for the sailor. See *Franklin Papers*, II, p. 5.

²⁴ *Connor Journal*, XXXI, p. 288, mentioned an attempt to escape which failed. This may have been the same incident.

²⁵ *Connor Journal*, XXXII, p. 33, listed Captain William Davis and Doctor Thomas Burns as officers of the Brig *Angelica*, taken May 30, 1778, by the *Andremada*. Beside their names Connor wrote "Run," as he did in many cases. This evidently meant a successful escape, and "Run" was written by all prisoners in his roster that Kilby mentioned. The name of Captain Davis was easily confused with Dennis in Kilby's memory. The *Duke of Linotes* may have been the ship that brought the prisoners to Portsmouth, just as the crew of the *Sturdy Beggar* were brought in by the *Resolution*.

²⁶ *Connor Journal*, XXXII, p. 38, listed Captain Elisha Hinmon and Lieutenant Peter Richard as officers of the *Alfred*. They were committed to Forton July 18, 1778. Hinman was in Brest, France, by Aug. 19, 1778. See *Franklin Papers*, I, p. 480.

²⁷ *Connor Journal*, XXXII, p. 36, listed "Bertho'w White, March ye 25, 1779, Shot."

²⁸ *Connor Journal*, XXXII, p. 39, listed Abijah Perkins as a Surgeon.

gave us a donation of 100 guineas, as also many other noted men. Capt. O'Kelly done duty over us 6 months, and would frequently Come in the prison and give us some Comfort by saying Hold out, we should all be Exchanged before long. Mr. Hartley, a member of the British Parliament,²⁹ once came in, sd the same words, besides many others of high standing. Case 9. A few days before the Exchange was known by any of us, there were 10 men got out nearly as before mentioned, and Every sole of them taken up, and brought back, put in the Black Hole. at last the day and hour of Exchange was announed to us. a few months before the hour of Exchange we all (say 100 of which well knew they were to go), our names having been Call'd over by the agent for that purpose, we went to the Iron gates, and call'd to our Companions then in the Black hole, in order to wish them well. One of them, a Philadelphian, Call'd his god to witness, and bound it with a horrible Oath, saying that he'd be in the City of Nantzze before us. I must and will acknowledge that I thought it only words of course, in the heat of passion; mark him after as I shall fully Explain. No. 2. The agent appointed for the purpose, a Mr. Hurum, call'd all of our names and then Read to us these words, to wit, you now have Rec'd his majesty's most gracious pardon. at that time there was a loud cry from many of our men, Dam his majesty and his pardon too! The gates were opened, and 100 of us, the first on the list; when I say the first on the list, I mean this, as we were Committed, so we stood on the list, unless put back under penalty before mentioned; and marched out under a guard. Capt. John Harris at our head, together with 99, making in all 100. For musick, some of our boys cry'd out give us yankee dudal [doodle]. They certainly did play it for us all the way down through the Town, where I fully believe to be within the bounds of Reason from 20 to 30 thousand soles were looking at us, hundreds of whom from windows, Cry'd out we wish you all well. We were put on bd the ship Milford,³⁰ a British ship, Commanded by Lieut. Knox. we sailed and at length put in to plymouth;³¹ again sail'd and anchored in Tor Bay, where the whole of Admiral Hardy's³² grand Fleet then lay, we again sailed for France and arrived in the Port of Pann Beef [Pamboeuf] (France).³³ Now for the first time we had been Free for nearly 2½ years. After Staying there 3 days, we got a vessel, and were conveyed up to the City of Nantzze, a fine noble & grand City. Now for Explanation No. 2. the Reason I have marked No. 2 spirit is because I am compelled to take them in to the account of Facts happened. For it happened, the very first men that met us on the warf was the very men that we left

²⁹ Dennis O'Kelly was an Irishman who became wealthy as the owner of the remarkable horse, Eclipse. He was also successively a captain, major, and colonel in the Middlesex Militia. See Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., *The National Dictionary of Biography*, (London, 21 vols., 1921), XIV, pp. 970-971. The member of Parliament was David Hartley. *Connor Journal*, XXX, p. 349, stated that Hartley's visit took place on March 14, 1778. For a full account of the activities of Hartley on behalf of the American prisoners, see William Bell Clark, *Ben Franklin's Privateers*, (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1956.)

³⁰ *Connor Journal*, XXXII, p. 285, dated the release on July 2, 1779.

³¹ *Connor Journal*, XXXII, p. 285, gave the date of sailing as July 7, 1779. The *Daily Advertiser* (London), July 15, 1779, reported the arrival at Plymouth of the *Milford* Cartel ship with prisoners from Portsmouth on July 11, 1779. The same newspaper, July 17, 1779, dated the departure of the vessel from Plymouth on July 13, 1779.

³² Admiral Sir Charles Hardy.

³³ *Connor Journal*, XXXII, p. 285, recorded the arrival at Pambocuf on July 18, 1779, and the dismissal of the prisoners from the Cartel on July 22, 1779.



Captain Paul Jones Capturing the Serapis. From the original picture by Alonzo Chappel. *Library of Congress.*

in the Black hole (England). They informed us that very night they broke out, went down where all the men of war lay, stole or took a Barge belonging to the Fleet, put out to sea, and Really landed safe in France. They sold the Boat for 24 Louis d'or, and traveled on to the city of Nantze at which place they had been 3 days before we were. We were all quartered at a Tavern, the Sign of the 3 Sailors, where we were 8 days, and I believe the Expenses pd. by Mr. Jonathan Williams, then Continental Clothier for the U.S.³⁴ we then finding it was nesy-sary that we whould that we should seek some imployment, 33 of us determined on giting with Capt. John Paul Jones, then lying in the Port of L'Orient, Commander of the ship Bonhomme Richard, of 40 guns. our Reason why we came to

³⁴ Jonathan Williams, Jr. was a grand nephew of Benjamin Franklin and the United States Commerical Agent at Nantes.

this determination was, you know, Revenge sometimes is quite pleasing to man, and we then believed the sd. Jones would not disappoint us in our great wish and desire. In order to get over from Nantze to L'Orient where the Ship lay, it was nesysary to send to Jones a letter informing him of our Intention. a letter was drafted and sent by Post, the 4 days after which he sent over two officers, To wit, his sailing master, Cutting Lunt, the gunner, James O'Coner, 33 of us did Enter and sign the Ship's papers, with these Conditions, that as Vacancies should happen, that Jones would give to those that he might think most deserved them. we all set out by land, the distance of which is 108 French miles. We arrived in 3 days after seting off in the Port of L'Orient. on the day following we all Rec'd. from Mr. Moilan, the Continental agent,³⁵ 20 French Crowns as Entrance money, and had permission to Remain on shore that night. Of course, we thought proper to take what is commonly call'd a man of war's Cruize. O'Coner was a man that had got the good wishes of us all, of course, we thought it would be imprudent to take all of our money with us and indeed he himself advised us against Keeping it with us and that night a deep laid plan of O'Coner was Every man put in his hands 19 Crowns for safe keeping until the morning. and in the morning O'Coner and money was all gone. We all went on bd. of the Ship *Bonhomme Richard*. The first sight that was presented to our View, was 13 men strip'd [stripped] and tied up on the larboard side of the quarter deck, the boatswain's mate, Commenced at the first nearest the gang way, by giving him one Dozen lashes with the Cat o nine tails. thus he went on until he came to the Coxton [Coxswain], Robertson by name, they being the Crew of the Capts. Barge, Robertson, the Coxton. when the B. mate came to Robertson, the 1st Lieut. sd. as he is a bit of an officer, give him 2 Dozen. it was done. now it's nesysary to let you know what they had been guilty of, they had carried the Capt. on Shore at a place they called the Slip, and as soon as Jones was out of sight, they all left the Barge and got drunk, (say Every man). When Jones came down in order to go on bd, not a man was to be found. Jones had to go and did hire a fishing boat to carry him on bd. Here it will be proper to observe, that some small time before, Jones had Entered 72 men (English prisoners) out of Denan [Dinan] prison in the Inland part of France,³⁶ nearly all good seamen. the Capts. Barge Crew was Chosen out of the best seamen, or at least good seamen, after they were then placed. Capt. Jones address'd us in these words, To wit, Well gentlemen & my lads, I well know where you have all been for a long time. I know you are true to your Country, and as my Ship has got a severe name, if any of you want any liberty that's not allowed by the Rules of the Ship, you are to come into my Cabon [Cabin], and let me Know. I found the Ship's officers to be pretty much as

³⁵ James Moylan was United States Commercial Agent at L'Orient. See the John Paul Jones Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. July 28, 1779. Hereinafter cited as Jones Papers. Cutting Lunt was ordered to Nantes to enlist American seamen from the Cartel, "able and willing to serve America, and enrich themselves." The order also stated that [Jonathan] Williams would assist him. Cutting and Henry Lunt were cousins and both members of Jones' crew.

³⁶ Jones Papers, John Paul Jones to Henry Lunt, May 19, 1779, is the order from Jones to go to Dinant after these seamen. Also in the Jones papers is a record of a Court Martial held on board the *Bonhomme Richard* August 8, 1779, in which Lt. William Robertson was found guilty of negligence of duty and his discharge recommended.

follows, To wit, Jones, Commander, 1st Lieut. Richard Dale, now Commodore,³⁷ 2nd Lieut. Henry Lunt, Sailing master, Cuting Lunt, midshipmen & master mates too many to name here.³⁸ Land officers, if I may so Call them, to be Col. Wiber, Col. Bebbitrong, a Capt. & several Lieuts. the marines, both officers and soldiers, all French & Irish Brigands, the Ship's Crew amounting to about 400 men, Doct. Brook, the surgent [surgeon] of the Ship,³⁹ James Meayes, purser.⁴⁰

We hove short a peak, loosed fore topsail, way'd anchor, & sailed on a Cruize, in company with the Alliance, Frigate of 36 guns, Commanded by Capt. Peter Landas, a Frenchman,⁴¹ the Palis, [Pallas], Frigate of 32 guns, Commanded by Capt. Cotino [Cottineau], a Frenchman, a Frigate of 36 guns, said to belong to the Ladies of Honour of France, also Commanded by a Frenchman and Crew, which I understood never was in any way under the Command of Jones, the Commodore of the Squadron, but on the Contrary had a Commission what's Commonly Called a Roven [Roving] Commission, the Brig Le Vengeance, of 12 guns, a French Commander and Crew,⁴² a luger⁴³ of 10 guns, French Capt. & Crew, all of which fleet was in Congress' service. The Frigate of 36 guns sd. to belong to the Ladies of Honour Excepted, & under the Command of the Hon'ble John Paul Jones. Which Fleet was fitted out of this Port of L'Orient by that good man Doctr. Benjmn. Frankling, then in Paris, Commissioner for the United States of north america.⁴⁴ The first thing that happened was as we were beating down to the Island of Grau [Groix], a man fell off the man Topsailyard on the quarter Deck. as he fell, he struck the Cock of Jones hat, but did no Injury to Jones. he was Kill'd dead, and buried on the Island of Grau. we again sailed.

³⁷ Richard Dale, after a noteworthy career in the United States Navy, was made Commander of the American Squadron in the Mediterranean in 1801. A biographical sketch of Dale and his account of the battle with the *Serapis* is included in John Henry Sherburne, *The Life and Character of John Paul Jones* (Second Edition: New York, 1851). Hereinafter cited as Sherburne, *Jones*.

³⁸ The complete roster of the crew of the *Bonhomme Richard* is listed in Sherburne, *Jones*, pp. 134-144.

³⁹ Dr. Lawrence Brooke, surgeon, was a Virginian.

⁴⁰ Kilby's memory tricked him in naming the purser, who was not James but Matthew Mease, a Philadelphia shipowner, who was visiting in France when he met Jones and agreed to join his crew. While not an experienced seaman, he took over a battery command and was seriously wounded during the fight with the *Serapis*. The difficulty with names is illustrated in Fanning, *Narrative*, p. 48, when the writer referred to the purser as "Mr. Mase."

⁴¹ Captain Pierre Landais, generally regarded as half mad.

⁴² The vessel was the *Monsieur*, a privateer, which only remained with the squadron a few days. *Le Vengeance* was also a privateer and shortly left the fleet commanded by Jones. Both ships had roving commissions to prey upon shipping at will. The Commodore suspected Le Ray de Chaumont, a high official at the Court of Louis XVI, of having a personal financial interest in both privateers and preventing them from being assigned to the command of Jones in order that there would be fewer claimants for prize money.

⁴³ Lugger, a small vessel equipped with one or more lugsails.

⁴⁴ The Squadron commanded by John Paul Jones included three frigates: *Bonhomme Richard*, commanded by Jones, himself; *Alliance*, commanded by Landais; *La Pallas*, commanded by Cottineau; one corvette, *La Vengeance*, commanded by Lt. de V. Phillipe-Nicholas Ricot; one cutter, *Le Cerf*, commanded by Ens. de V. Joseph Varage; two privateers, *Monsieur*, commanded by Guidloup, and *Granville*, commanded by Dumaurier. A Concordat signed before sailing stated that all ships would be considered a part of the United States Navy. The two privateers did not sign that agreement. Benjamin Franklin, in Paris, worked heroically to help assemble this fleet. The effectiveness of Franklin's labor is apparent as the entire fleet, with the exception of the *Alliance*, was furnished and paid for by France. See Jones Papers, statement issued May 1-3, 1779.

Main Gate of Forton Barracks, 1971.
Author's Collection.



nothing of note happened. after awhile the Frigate sd. to belong to the Ladies of Honour left us, for what reason I am not able to say,⁴⁵ more than I understood the Capt. of sd. Ship did not like the Conduct of Landais, the Capt. of the Alliance. the next of note is, we were off Ireland Close under the Land, occasioned by a Dead Calm & a heavy sea beating in on Shore, about one houre by sun at night.⁴⁶ Jones had his Barge hauled out & manned with 12 men & the Coxton, the Barges Crew. Robertson by name was the Coxton, the same man that had some small time before been Flogged, when Jones got into the Barge & Rowed Round the Ship. Just before the sun went down Jones came on bd. the Barge then was to tow the Ship's head off from the land, all at once the Centinel Cry'd out, the Barge had been Cut loose from the tow Rope, & made for the land. Orders was then given to haul out the Pinace,⁴⁷ a much larger boat, than the Barge. it was done, and mann'd with 12 rowers and 22 men, soldiers. the sailing master, Cutting Lunt & 2 Mrs. Watts, Irish Cadets, with orders to pursue the Barge & Bring her back, so soon as the last boat Struck the Shore, there was a guard of soldiers together with our men (say the first boats Crew) on the beach Ready to make them all prisoners, and naturally did so, as I shall here after fully Explain. Case 7. in my opinion, the first had dodged Brig of Capt. Jones.⁴⁸ we continued to

⁴⁵ The cruise began August 14, 1779. On the 18th, the *Verwagting* was taken and sent by Jones to L'Orient as a prize. This displeased the commander of *Monsieur* and that vessel left the fleet next day. The Dutch ship had been taken by the English privateer, *Eagle*, and was then taken by Jones. See Jones Papers, Jones to Leray de Chamont, August 18, 1779.

⁴⁶ One hour before sunset.

⁴⁷ Pinnace, a small sailing boat used as a ship's boat. A barge is usually the official launch of a flagship.

⁴⁸ In the foray in the fog, Robertson's crew, being Irishmen, took advantage of a chance to get ashore on their native coast and deserted. Lunt was captured and died in an English prison. Landais had a scene with Jones and, as a result, removed the *Alliance* from the fleet for a considerable time. *Le Cerf* returned to L'Orient, *Granville* left the fleet with a prize, and *Pallas* became disabled. The calm and ensuing fog produced a remarkable collection of calamities.

Cruise, we Captured, sunk, burn'd, & destroy'd many Ships. at length, we approached off Leith Rock (Ireland), still going up. Every officer in full British uniform, and not a French soldier to be seen on Deck. a pilot came on bd. Jones asked him what was the news on the Coast. why, sd. he, very great & bad news, that Rebel Paul Jones is Expected Every day to land. Jones then asked him what they thought of the Rebel Jones, saying he wished that he Could Come a Crop with him. Why, sd. he, he is the greatest Rebel & pirat that Ever was, and aught to be hanged. Jones then asked him if he Knew who he was talking to. Jones observed, I am, Paul Jones. the poor pilot Dropp'd on his Knees & begged his life Come & get up, I wont hurt a hair of your head, but that you are my prisoner.⁴⁹ On going up the Road, the Commander of the fort at the Entrance of the place sent off an Express, supposing us to be a British Fleet, Requesting a Few Barrels of Powder, and to make all the way up the Coast. Jones sent him one Barrel of Powder, with a Request that he Keep up good lights, as the night was very Dark & weather squally, lights was kept up. we were beating along together with the Fleet, in the course of the night an 18 gun Cutter (English) was also beating up & was Closea long side of us several times. she Even got foul of us 3 or 4 times. all this time Every officer in full English uniform & not a French man to be seen on bd. in the morning the Cutter was about 2 or 3 miles a head and many larger Ships continually sailing athwart us. at last we was Compelled to take charge of one of them. She was manned with 2 or 3 men only. leaving the crew on bd. making them believe we were an English Fleet, a man by name Walker, as prize master, all of which was under the pretents of helping them Safe into Port, and so even as we got out of the Reach of Cannon Shot, Walker up'd helm & Run her on shore, of Course give the allarm in that place, but we still kept on untill we arrived athwart of the Town where we Intended to land.⁵⁰ the object of our landing, as Capt. Jones said, was to demand a Contribution of two hundred fifty thousand pounds Sterling, and it was to be delivered in 2 houres, or the Town was to be laid in ashes, as we were fully able to do so. We were prepared with Every kind of Combustible for the purpose. Our boats was manned & Ready to Set of from a long side of the Ships. the Cuter, then a head of us fired 3 signal guns, the fort from Edinborough & Else where all Commenced firing, not to Expert. the gail much increasing, so that we were obliged to abandon the Interprise, we hoisted in all the boats up helmn & put before the wind & shortly left the land. the gail still continued to increase all that night. we bent and & lost 3 fore-sails from the fore yeard. Botsman [Boatswain] mate James garrett⁵¹ Either got Drunk or was much alarmed at the Dreadfull night, I believe in part both, so that he did not attend to his duty as well as he aught to have done in Consequence of which 1st. Lieut. Dale went on the forecandle and Rattaned him well, all of which

⁴⁹ The complete details of the encounter between Jones and the pilot, as well as the subterfuge used by Jones in dressing his men in British uniforms, are given in Samuel Eliot Morison, *John Paul Jones* (Boston, 1959), pp. 216-218. A complete account of the *Bonhomme Richard's* cruise around England is given by Morison, by Sherburne in *Jones*, and Fanning in his *Narrative*. The facts agree with Kilby's account. The only comments made in this edition of the *Narrative* are those intended to make it more understandable.

⁵⁰ The town was Leith, Scotland, protected by Edinboro Castle.

⁵¹ Sherburne, *Jones*, p. 135, lists an Edward Garrett as boatswain. Undoubtedly he was the man Kilby referred to in his *Narrative*.

I thought very right. we then Shaped our course for England. on the way, we fell in with many Vessels, all which we Either sunk, burnt, or destroy'd. at the same time making fast Every man as prisoner. on 23 day of Octbr. 1779 we spied a Fleet of Ships. we gave chase at 6 o'clock. a signal was given for the Palas to hall her wind & take Charge of the small Ship of war, which proved afterward to us the Countess of Scarborough of 26 guns. the Alliance to Sail under our lee, the Brig & luger to keep under our Stern. the Palas obeyed the signal but being a dull sailor, it was some time before she could Effect what she was ordered to do. the Alliance she being a very fast sailing Ship, came up along side, Jones by signal & verbal directed Landas in these words, To wit, the Bonhomme Richard will lay the larger Ship a long side, & the Alliance was to come under the Enemy's stern and Rake her, and so to Continue, by which means, Jones said we Should be able to take her in a short time. Contrary to orders & Everything that could be Expected, the Alliance hall'd her wind & went in pursuit of the small Ship, and commenced firing at long shot. the Enemy also ingaged. the Pallas a length got up and Ran a long side of the small Ship, and after small action Captured her agreeably to orders. the Alliance hove to. the Bonhomme Richard still bearing down on the large Ship, which Ship was then protected by a large Fleet of merchant Ships. in order to protect that Valuable Convoy as it was his duty, he hove too, hall'd up his Course & prepared for action. Side Lanthorns of course was brought up through out the Ship, and every man at quarters was playing [plain] to be seen. we then being but a very small distance from them, at the time, you must be shure our Ship was as well prepared for action as it was in the power of man to have a Ship. still bearing down, when She hailed us in these words, hail the Ship, hail the Ship. Our Capt. with the large trumpet in his hand, made no ans [answer]. the Enemy again, the Ship a hail. Jones then in a very lowe voice, sd. I can't tell what you say. the Enemy again Reply'd, tell us what Ship that is directly or I'll sink you. Jones then ans. sink & be damned, I fully believe no man living could tell which Ship fired first. but so it was, that both Ships fired a broadside.⁵² I was at this time on the lower deck, Commanding 2 of the 18 pounders.⁵³ before the action Commenced, Every thing was silent, so that a man Can hear Every thing said; the 2nd Broadside, the guns that I had to Command of, was dismounted, as also all of our lower deck guns, and of Course, the men quartered Else where. at this time Jones ordered the helm to be put hard up, & Run the Enemy on board. it was done. in doing this, her Jibboom Run between our mizzen shrouds and mizzen mast. her Jibboom carried away our Insign Staff & Colors. they give 3 Cheairs, we ans. with one Cheair. Jones at the same time cry'd out, look at my mizzen peake, at which place was Run up the glory of America.⁵⁴ I mean the hansomest suit of Colours that

⁵² All accounts of this battle are in agreement that both ships fired almost simultaneously. Captain Pearson's account, included in the latter part of Kilby's *Narrative*, said he answered the shot of the *Bonhomme Richard* with a broadside almost instantly.

⁵³ Kilby had been promoted to quarter gunner by this time.

⁵⁴ Kilby was referring to the Stars and Stripes. Most of the chronicles of the career of John Paul Jones, generally accepted as authoritative, have paid tribute to the patriotism, loyalty, and fighting fervor of the members of the crew of the *Bonhomme Richard* recruited from the cartel of exchanged prisoners which arrived from Nantes. Without these men, the outcome of the battle with the *Serapis* might have been less glorious for Jones.

I Ever see. they were 36 feet in the Fly. about this time a shot or something had Cut away the Enemy's Flying Jibstay, and it fell on our quarter deck. Jones seised it & belay'd it to our mizzen Cleats, saying at the same time, now by these untill one or the other sinks, during which, be sure neither of the Ships guns & all the Empliments of war was no idle. we have on board the Enemy at least 50 grappling Irons. They made several attempts to saw & cut them away, but we Continued to fling more on board. at last the Commander Cry'd out for his boarders. When the Brave Jones Reply'd, he sd. he was Ready to Recieve them. they mounted & attempted to Enter our gang way. we beat them off. When both Ships again Seamed to Commence firing with Double Vigour. Still making much water, Jones questioned the Carpenter of the Ship, whose duty it was, Reported to our Commander the situation of the Ship. as often as she Required, which was Every first 30. 2d 20. & 3d. 15 minutes. at last he reported to Jones in my hearing, that the Ship then had 6 feet 6 inches in the hole, & that She was Sinking fast, to which Jones Reply'd never mind it, if she sunk. There was aplenty of Spars on Deck, that we should not be drowned, and to go back & do the best he Could. in the Course of this action, John Gardner, the gunner of the Ship,⁵⁵ had by some means got the Cpts. Cabon Lanthorn, a most beautifull one it was. Gardner was Running fore & aft on the main Deck, when a Cannon ball struck the Lanthorn. Gardner, alarmed, Cry'd out Quarters, quarters, & before any one Could put him to Death, he was wounded in the head & fell, but not Kill'd Dead. many of our men left there quarters. When I say our men, I mean those that Jones had Entered out of French prisons. In fact, the Brave Dale went forward in the Bowes of the Ship between Decks & drove out to quarters many that had left their quarters. Such was the situation of our mixed Crew that Every officer was almost Compelled to do Double duty. It must be Remembered, that early on this day, 2nd Lieut. Henry Lunt had been put on bd. of one of the small vessels taken by us. this took place before we Spied the Fleet of Ships, & he never got up with us untill the action was about over. for this he was by no means to blaime, though our Ship was without a 2nd Lieut. in the time of need. During the whole of the action, our Ship Continued to make great quantities of water. Both Chain pumps were worked, as also all 4 of the hand pumps. Each Chain pump is allowed to deliver a ton of water per minuit & both the Enemy's and our Ship was on fire nearly up to their Tops. Just as the action was about to Close, the Alliance of 36 guns, Roled up under our larboard quarter under Easy sail, the wind being light & the night almost as Bright as day. her Commander, Landas, gave his 1st Lieut. James Degg, orders to Commence firing with the Starboard Bow gun first & so on untill the Broadside sign he ordered for all his guns went down.⁵⁶ on hearing this Jones hailed him and sd. dont fire in to me, he was the Bonhomme Richard. Even Degg⁵⁷ told his Capt. that it was the Bonhomme Richard. His ans. to that was do

⁵⁵ *Connor Journal*, XXXII, p. 38, listed a Henry Gardner, captured with the crew of the *Angelica* and placed in Forton Prison. *Sherburne, Jones*, p. 135, listed a Henry Gardner, gunner, wounded. This is very likely the man Kilby referred to although he did not remember his first name correctly. Kilby wrote a paragraph, then lightly crossed it out and re-wrote it. In it he stated Gardner had been exchanged in the same cartel in which Kilby left Forton.

⁵⁶ This was a general order to fire until ordered to cease.

⁵⁷ *Sherburne, Jones*, p. 140, listed James Degges, 1st Lieutenant on the *Alliance*.



Serapis vs. Bon Homme Richard. Engraving by Robert Whitechurch of painting by James Hamilton. c.1879. *Library of Congress*.

you obey my orders, I know very well what to do. He did fire Commencing as before & Raked us fore & aft for Every Cannon Ball went into the cabon windows & Clear fore & aft. at which broadside he Kill'd all of our men & so soon as he shot ahead of our Ship he hove about & give us the other broadside. at this, the master at arms, John Birbeck,⁵⁸ who had the Charge of our Ships hole it being his duty, unlocked the hatches & let on Deck 300 prisoners that we had before taken, for it was Jones' practice to let no man go. Birbeck jumped over bd. & swam on to the Alliance. I'll say this for the prisoners, not one man pretended to Resist. I believe their greatest fear was that the Ship would sink, for She certainly was going down very playing [plain]. on this Jones Call'd for the boarders, at which Command the Brave Richard Dale, 1st Lieut. now Commodore Dale, of Philadelphia, like that of Julius Cesar, with about 30 or 33 mounted the gang way with Drawn swords, pikes, and all other Deadly weapons as would Carry Death & Distruction before them, or fail in the attempt. they Rush'd on & spread Death & Carnage nefore them untill a Cry was heard, I have struck, I have struck. Jones Cry'd aloud Ceas firing she has Struck. the Cry was heard fore and aft & I cant believe there was a singel Cannon fired after, Except one from the Enemy's Ships & that we had good Reason to believe, was fired at the very time when she struck. 5

⁵⁸ Sherburne, *Jones*, p. 136, listed John Burbank, Master-at-Arms.

minutes after she struck, her main mast went over by the Board. the British Commander, Richard Pearson, by name, was Conducted on bd. our Ship. I at that time was within 6 feet of our Capt. Pearson presented his sword to Jones, saying it was diamond Cut diamond. Jones Rec'd it & on the spot Returned it to Pearson, saying you are welcome to wear your sword on bd. my ship.⁵⁹ He Rec'd. it with thanks & did wear it when he pleased. Jones requested 1st. Lieut. Dale to get the prize Ship off with speed & Extinguish the fire as soon as possible. It was done in quick time, all hands without loss of time mustered to Endeavour to Extinguish the fire on bd. both Ships, which was at that time, all over both Ships & Even as high as the Tops, our Ship being on fire within 3 feet of her magazine. the fire on bd. both Ships at last was Conquered tho much harder work than fighting the action. by the time this was all accomplished day light began to makeit appearance, when both Ships heads together with all our Fleet, was turned towards Holland, the Texel. We then Cleared the Ships Decks of the Dead and at the rising of the sun, we hove ober bd. 300 Dead bodies, 100 more were wounded, 35 and 40 of whome died the next day before 4 o'clock. During which the Jury masts was Rising & giting up on bd. the Sea Raper,⁶⁰ our prize Ship, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon our Ship the Bonhomme Richard that had so short a time before Carried us through all the Dangers of the night sunk, altho Every man that could be spared from Every Ship in the Fleet was assisting on to Keep her above water; O heavens, it was Enough to bring tears from the heart of the most unthinkin man. She went down head foremost with all sail set, Studon-sails, Top gallonsails, Royals, Sky Scrapers, and Every sail that can be put on a Ship, Jack, Pedent [Pennant], & that Beautifol Insign, that she so gallantly wore while in action & when we Conquered. alas she is gone never more to be seen. we were for several days, as Capt. Pearson justly observes,⁶¹ beating the North Seas, and on 6 day of Octb. 1779, we arrived and anchored in the Texel (Holland) together with the Remainder of our Fleet, the Alliance, the Pallis, the Le Vengeance, the luger & our 2 prizes, the Sea Raper & the Countess of Scarbour [Scarborough].⁶² now I shall give you some little further acct. of the action. When the action Commenced, Doctr. Brook was on the quarter Deck at which time he ought to have been below in his cockpit. he Remained on Deck for some time. Jones at length observed to the Doctr. why don't you go below where you are wanted. the good little Doct. ans: & said I want To see how the action goes on, & did not go untill he was ordered by Jones, in very positive terms. this I call Bravery, for the Doct. had as much as any man on bd. the Ship; this I was told by the officers that stood by & heard the words. Now for cowardice in it's full Extent,

⁵⁹ Several versions exist, no two of which are alike, of the remarks passed between Jones and Pearson. Neither Commander in their official reports of the battle state what they said to each other, nor did Lt. Dale give this information in his account of the battle (included in Sherburne, *Jones*). Without proof to the contrary, Kilby's account is accepted as correct as far as his memory could recall it. Fanning included the statement quoted by Kilby, "diamond cut diamond," (Fanning, *Narrative*, p. 48), and added some remarks Kilby did not report. Fanning's account was written before his death in 1805, at the age of fifty, and Dale's was written forty-four years after the action took place.

⁶⁰ The nickname given to the *Serapis* by the crew of the *Bonhomme Richard*.

⁶¹ See Pearson's official report in the latter part of Kilby's *Narrative*.

⁶² Captain Cottineau had taken the *Countess of Scarborough* after an hour's fight, while Jones engaged the *Serapis*.

we had on bd. the Ship, a Mr. Morant, midshipman, a South Carolinian.⁶³ It seemed that he had been missing nearly all the action, & about the very moment when Jones give the order to board, some one discovered Morant in the main Chains on the opposit side of the Ship from that of the Enemy; an officer was informed of it, and in the act of running him through when he jumped over on the quarter Deck, Ran a Cross and actually was one which boarded the Enemy, that being the very moment of boarding. this I was an Eye witness to. It pass'd over, but the man never was after Respected by any of the Crew, now for Bravery, William Hamilton, Capt. of the main Top. during the whole of the action, or nearly so, Continually Kept going out on the Starboard main yard arm, which was Directly over the Enemy's main Deck & hove in so many Stink pots, hand grenades, and other Combustible matter, that the Enemy's Deck several times would take fire and blew up many times. this was done by the loose powder that was Spilt on Deck by the powder monkeys as they Carried the Carterdrigges from the magazine to the Cannon. Hamilton, for his good Conduct, was made a master mate, altho he fought so manfully he in the Texel Run away from the Ship. be it Remembered that he was one of the men that Capt. Jones had Entered out of Denan prison in France.⁶⁴ Many more acts of Bravery & Cowardice I could here State was it thought necessary. when we arrived in the Texel, Jones, the Commodore, wrote on to the Doct. Frankling, then in Paris. Frankling directed Landas, the Capt. of the Alliance, to come to him in Paris, and Jones to take charge of the Alliance. it was done. and for Capt. Cutino of the Palis, to take charge of the Sea Raper, as prize to the King of France for at that time Holland and England was not at open war.⁶⁵ It was done & Capt. Cutino hoisted a French Flag as admiral. Cutino's first Lieut. suceded to the Command of the Palis. Our Ships was all Refited & fit for sea, we having Remained in port 13 weeks & 2 days. Several times During of stay in port, the Dutch Admiral⁶⁶ would send his officers on board of our Ship, the Alliance, with directions for us to leave the land within a few hours. Jones' ans. would often say his Ships was not quite Ready for sea. the Admiral one day actually did order 2 40 gun Frigates all Brass Peases [Pieces], to Come a long side of us, put Springs on their cabels,⁶⁷ and sd. it was their orders if we did not leave the land within 4 hours, to sink us. to which Jones Returned a Verbal ans: on his quarter Deck, so that all might hear it, sd. he, go back, & tell your admiral that if he'll send out the best 40 gun Frigate that he has only one league from land that he'd Carry her safe into France, the 2 Frigates lay a long side of us several weeks, but never attempted anything hostile towards

⁶³ Sherburne, *Jones*, p. 135, listed John Mayrant of South Carolina as a midshipman and as wounded. This is the man Kilby referred to as Morant.

⁶⁴ Sherburne, *Jones*, p. 140, listed a separate group in the roster of the crew of the *Bonhomme Richard* with the statement that those men belonged to the ship, but for some unknown reason, they were not included in the distribution of prize money. William Hamilton was included in this group. Sherburne's first edition was published in 1825. It is quite possible that he never heard of Kilby's *Narrative*, which was not published as far as can be determined until 1905.

⁶⁵ *Franklin Papers*, V, p. 498, Monplaisir to de Chaumont, June 14, 1780. Landais resumed command of the *Alliance* after having been deprived of that position by Franklin.

⁶⁶ Vice Admiral Pieter Hendrik Reynst, of the Netherlands Navy, wished Jones to leave before English relations with Holland were upset because Jones found sanctuary in Dutch waters.

⁶⁷ A spring was a supplementary rope used to tie the vessel to a dock after the bow and stern lines were made fast.

us. we sailed on a Cruize with both Ships Crews on bd. the first thing of not that took place was one morning in the Channel of England, the man at the fore top mast head Just about the borne of day, Cry'd a sail, on the starboard bow. in 2 or 3 minutes, he Cry'd, a nother sail in a few minutes a nother sail, and in a very small time, he Cry'd a Fleet. by this time light had begun to appear, & in a very small time we discovered a Fleet of 52 Ships, Admiral Hardies grand Fleet. Now it was that we had only one Chance to Escape and this was by running by one or more of the Ships, and of course receive their heavy gun fire. It was to hall Close on a wind that certainly was our Ships Excellency, for I fully believe she was the fastest Ship on a wind my foot Ever was on bd. of. mean time we discovered 2 50 gun Ships in a press of sail Trying to cut us of. the monring being very Clear, the Blowing very Fresh, we were then under Close Reef Topsails. Jones ordered out a Reef. it was done quickly. He ordered out the 2nd and it was not long before it was done. He ordered out the 3rd, and that the Topsails should be hoisted up Taut. It was done. One of the Lieuts. observed to Jones he was fearful that we should carry away the Masts. Jones ans: that she should either Carry it or drag it. The Ship was then on a tate [taut] Bowline, running of the Real 14 Knots; in 4 hourrs we Run Every one of the Ships Hulls down, on which we Eas'd sail.⁶⁸ we then Cruized for some weeks, & Captured several vessels, some of which we Scuttled, some we burned. on the Cruize we Retuck [Retook] a Capt. James, who had not long beforebeen taken. at length we arrived in Corunna, Spain. After being there some days, our good & worthy Doct. Brook & Jones, It seamed had a private falling out, & he left the Ship. the Cause of this dispute I never did Know. Just before we were about to sail, some of our men Refused to do Duty, saying they would be pd. some money. on its being handed to their officers, 1st Lieut. Dale, & others, drew their swords and went down between Decks, drove the men up on Deck (say all of them that refused to do their duty). The Ships Crew was mustered; Jones made a speech to them on which Every man readily agreed to do his duty. Jones ordered a Double allowance of grog, & all was peace.⁶⁹ While laying in that place, all the Spanish Ships of war, was to be dressed. I believe it was on the King's Birth day. So it was that we had all our Ship fully Dress'd, it's usually [customary] for all Ships when in a foreign Port, to first have the Colours of Their own Country up at the main top gallon [gallant] Royal head, & next to theire owne, the Colours of the nation that they are in the port of. All this was done, but the sun going down and at the admiral's signal given at which mement all Colours & Tops gallant yards is to come down, at Boatswains Call, Every thing was well managed. Even that of the Spanish Colours, which hung for some Minutes. at that, Jones got into a most violent rage. John Darling was the Boatswain who had to attend to the Colours so far as to see that Every thing Run well. here I must let you know that Darling was one of the men Entered out of Denan prison & Jones believed he had done it Desinedly [De-

⁶⁸ A knot is a nautical mile and 14 knots is a terrific speed for a sailing vessel. Kilby's estimate, made without instruments, may not have been exact, but the *Alliance* was capable of high speed. See *Log of the Alliance*, Group 45, Naval Records Collection, National Archives. Hereinafter cited as *Alliance Log*.

⁶⁹ Jones Papers, John Paul Jones to Monplaisir, April 10, 1780. Jones requested the prize money to be delivered as soon as possible as his men "have neither money nor clothing."



Chief Petty Officers' Mess, Forton Barracks. 1971. *Author's Collection.*

signedly]. I very much think with Jones. so it was Darling was Call'd aft on the quarter Deck. Jones drew his sword & I really thought he would have Run him through, but did not for bear any Violence whatever.⁷⁰ we agin sail'd on a Cruize & never came a cross our Enemy. at last went into the Port of L'Orient, the place that we first sailed from, where we found our prize Ships. Jones set out for Paris. he was gone 11 weeks & 2 days, & in the mean time we had got our Ship in fine order. She had 50 Cannon on bd. intended for a Frigate that was then Builden in America, also 17 thousand stand of arms, also for America; many gentlemen Passengers, To wit, Mr. Arthur Lee, our imbasidore [ambassador], his nephews, Thomas & Ludwell, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Woodruft, Major Frazer of this state, & many more, in all 17.⁷¹ Jones arrived & came on bd. accompanied by Mr. Moilan, the continental agent in L'Orient. so soon as he was on bd. he address'd his Ships Crew, saying to morrow or the next day, you'll all Receive your waggess & prize money from Mr. Moilan. Jones, as he had always before went on shore to his Lodgings. the Barge landed at a place Call'd the Slip and so soon as Jones had got out of sight, Capt. Peter Landas, formaly [formerly] of the Alliance, Came out of a small house, got into the Barge, & was Conducted on bd. by James Olin, who was one of Landas acting Lieuts.⁷² A plan laid by Landas officers & men to git

⁷⁰ Sherburne, *Jones*, p. 141, listed Alexander Darling as boatswain on the *Alliance*. The crew of the *Alliance* and that of the *Bonhomme Richard* did not mix well at all.

⁷¹ Arthur Lee was one of the three United States Commissioners in Europe. This group was authorized by the Congress to negotiate treaties for the United States. His nephews lived with him at the time. Major John G. Frazer, formerly a friend of Jones, had been refused a place in the crew of the *Bonhomme Richard*. See Morison, *Jones*, pp. 87, 111, 117, and 204. Other passengers were Samuel Wharton, a Philadelphia merchant, and Ralph Izard, an American diplomat.

⁷² Sherburne, *Jones*, p. 140, listed James Lind as 3rd Lieutenant in the crew of the *Alliance*. This was undoubtedly the same man.

Landas on bd.⁷³ It's here nesary to let you Know that from the day of both Ship's Crews being together neither officers or men could Indure each other. the small Remains of the Bonhomme Richard's Crew always insisted that the Crew of the Alliance, both officers and men was Cowards, and I realy believe it was as True as Preaching.⁷⁴ this opinion & Even Frequent declarations made in the Presence of the Alliance's Crew Caused much disturbance between the two Crews.⁷⁵ Thus it was by treachery that the Braive John Paul Jones lost that fine, fast sailing Ship, Alliance, in which Ship had he Kept, in all probability much might have been done for the American Cause. at this very time the 1st & 2nd Lieuts. was on Shore together with many other officers, as also many more of the Bonhomme Richard's Crew. Scarcely a single man and not one officer of the Alliance's Crew was on shore. This fully proved that It was a Comcerted plann, that had some time before been laid by Landas & the Alliance Crew, which Ship he called his. it here ought to be understood that Landas had not been tried, nor could he be so, in France, at that time. But mark what became of him hereafter; —on Landas stepping up the Ship's side, the first word he said was, I now Command the Ship.⁷⁶ Call the master at arms to me. he came. Landas said go & put Every sole belonging to the Bonhomme Richard in Irons. it was done, & I myself, one of the number, making in all 52 officers & men. we way'd anchor & warp'd the Ship down nearly to Fort Louis. the Fort stretched a Chain a Cross the River & for bid Landas going one foot further, saying if he did, the Fort would Sink the Ship.⁷⁷ Landas came to put springs on his Cables, hoisted American Colours, and Call'd all hands to quarters. in this situation did he Remain 3 days & nights, during which time many Flags passed from the Fort to the Ship, & from the Ship to the Fort. Landas, Calling out & saying, if the Fort fired on him, he would Strike the American Flag to the French authority; the Commander of the Fort

⁷³ While the fleet had been anchored in the Texel, on October 21, 1779, Jones commanded Lieutenant Degge to take command of the *Alliance*. See *Franklin Papers*, V, p. 298. Landais, after unsuccessfully pleading his case to Benjamin Franklin, wrote to Degge from Paris, June 12, 1780, instructing him to retain command of the ship. Franklin was unable to prevent this action on the part of Landais.

⁷⁴ On October 30, 1779, a number of officers in Jones's fleet signed a statement entitled, *Certificate of a Number of Officers Respecting the Conduct of Capt. Landas*, and a copy was sent to Benjamin Franklin. See *Franklin Papers*, V, p. 422. The statement was later referred to during the court martial of Landais. (*Continental Congress*, Folio 193, pp. 451-589). The certificate was reprinted in Reginald de Koven, *The Life and Letters of John Paul Jones* (New York, 1913: 2 vols.), II, pp. 467-473. The statement was signed by Robert Coram, J. W. Linthwaite, John Mayrant, Benjamin Stubbs, Thomas Potter, Nathaniel Fanning, Thomas Lundy, Beaumont Groube, all midshipmen, and Richard Dale and Henry Lunt, Lieutenants, and Samuel Stacy, Master, of the crew of the *Bonhomme Richard*. James Degge, Lieutenant, John Buckley, Master, and John Larchar, Master's Mate, all of the crew of the *Alliance* also signed it. In addition, the certificate was signed by Lieutenant Colonel Wubert, Commander of the Volunteers aboard the *Bonhomme Richard*; M. Parke, Captain of Marines aboard the *Alliance*; and D. Cootineau de Kloguene, Captain of the *Pallas*.

⁷⁵ The crew of the *Alliance*, including those who had formerly testified against Landais, signed a statement upholding the conduct of their captain in the cruise around England. See *Franklin Papers*, V, p. 495.

⁷⁶ Arthur Lee upheld Landais in this action. See *Franklin Papers*, V, p. 306, Arthur Lee to John Paul Jones, June 13, 1780. Landais took over the ship on June 12, 1780, according to *Alliance Log*.

⁷⁷ From the fort at the mouth of the waterway, a chain could be raised and lowered to control the entrance to the port.

knew that would not do,⁷⁸ at Last he let loose the Chain & sd., he might go where he pleased. Landais directly weighed anchor & beat the Ship down to the island of Grau, where he Came to anchor, and lay about 3 weeks. Capt. Jones sent to Landas many Flags requesting the Crew of the Bonhomme Richard, all of which was Refused, and not one sole of us, Either officers or men, was allowed any liberty what Ever. we would as often as we could get Chances send letters to Jones Requesting he'd try & get us out of the Ship,⁷⁹ for Landas we all dispised. Jones very often would wright to us, his letters always Came directed in this way: To the Brave officers & Crew of the Bonhomme Richard.⁸⁰ the last Flag that Ever Came was brought by 1st Lieut. Richard Dale & 2d. Lieut. Henry Lunt. the latter officer Landas did not allow to go on bd. but Indignently sd. to Lunt in the Flag boat, that he'd make a very good Coxton for his Barge. the Crew of the Bonhomme Richard, then in Irons under the half Deck, all in open View of sd. Lunt. the Flag Returned without any satisfaction whatever, and the Ship Alliance sailed. after we had been at sea some days, a proposition was made to us. It was this, that we might come out of Irons & do duty, those that were officers as such & those as seamen as such. We all for some time Refused but afterwards was advised by many of the leading passengers that to them was useless to Remain in Irons. we therefore agreed to Comply with a proposition & was all taken out of Irons & did to duty agreeably to our former officers. On 17 days after sailing Landas Consined [Consigned] his 1st Lieut. James Digges, to the ward Room, the very Powerful man that got sd. Landas on bd. a few days after Landas Call'd in Clerk, Thomas Pool,⁸¹ in the Cabon. on Pool Entering the Cabon as he sd. Landas had 2 Pistols on the table & his Commission. at the same time sd. to Pool, this is my Commission, so you Read it, took up one of the Pistols, Cock'd it, & presented it to his Breast. Pool allarmed, made out of the Cabon. The 3rd day after Landas had the Capt. of Marines, John Parks,⁸² Call'd in & he was treated in the same way & actually did snap the Pistol at his Breast, this Capt. Parks sd. the Ship still going on for America. on the banks of Newfoundland as is usual for all ships to do, we hove too, to sound. we found ourselves in 33 fathoms nearly the very Spot that we Expected. While the Ship was hove too, many Cod lines was hove out. One of the quarter masters happened to catch a Codfish. he politely gave it to Mr. Lee, who lived in the Cabon with the Capt. the Cabon Steward had it nicely Dress'd for Dinner & as it was going in the Cabon, Landas happened to see it & asked what it was. it was the Steward's ans. it was a Codfish, that one of the quarter masters had given to Mr. Lee. Landais ordered it to be hove over Bd. through one of the port holes. Mr. Lee was informed of it, but Said nothing. Landas then shaped his course for Philadelphia, on which Cost, we were well informed. a large portion of the British Fleet was Cruizing off, that port being a different one from which the Ship was ordered to. a few days after, Landas's con-

⁷⁸ The Captain of the Port of L'Orient was Antoine Jean Marie de Thévenard, a friend of Jones. See Jones Papers, Thévenard to de Linoncourt, June 20, 1780.

⁷⁹ The crew begged Jones to demand their release. See *Franklin Papers*, V, p. 308.

⁸⁰ Jones Papers, John Paul Jones to "the Ships Company of the *Alliance*," July 3, 1780.

⁸¹ Sherburne, *Jones*, p. 143, listed the clerk as Fitz Pool.

⁸² Sherburne, *Jones*, p. 141, listed the Captain of Marines as Park, and omitted any accompanying name. The full name of the Captain of Marines was Matthew Parke.



Captain Paul Jones Shooting a [British] Sailor. 1780. *Library of Congress.*

duct was such that, in the opinion of Lee, & all the passengers, as well as the Officers on bd. proved Compleatly that he was in a measure beside himself. owing as was thought on account of his Conduct in the action & Elsewhere. it therefore was requested by all the passengers, & officers, Mr. Lee at the head, to draw up a paper which was signed first by Mr. Lee & all the passengers, to take the Ship from Landas. It was done & at the 4 o'clock watch it was to be carried into Effect. the plan was this, a quarter master, by name, James Prat,⁸³ a Very Large Robust Rough seaman, Was to first take Charge of the Ship. It Really was Laughable to see the actions of the then Commodore Prat. as the watch was Relieved, Prat mounts the quarter Deck, Calls in the 2 Lieuts. of marines, To wit, 1st Lieut. Eldridge,⁸⁴ 2nd Lieut. Warran, the son of the great Doct. Warran of Boston.⁸⁵

⁸³ Sherburne, *Jones*, pp. 140-144. This name was not listed with the members of the crew.

⁸⁴ Sherburne, *Jones*, p. 141, listed Thomas Ehlenwood, 1st Lieutenant of Marines.

⁸⁵ Sherburne, *Jones*, p. 141, listed James Warren, 2nd Lieutenant of Marines. Dr. Joseph Warren was one of the most prominent patriots of Boston, and was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill.

they both came to Prat with their hats in their hands, & asked what was his Command. Prat ans. & sd. take a file of soldiers & Confine Capt. Landas to his Cabon. they had 12 soldiers with musquets Ready. Orders was given by Eldridge to do so. Landas at first Refused. Prat then ordered them to Charge bayonets. These were Charged, and Landas, put below under a guard of 4 Soldiers at the Cabin Door, after which Eldridge & Warran Came to Prat. Pray, sir, have you any further Command. Prat ans. yes, go down in the ward Roome & bring to me Lieut. Digs. in a very small time Digs Came with his hat under his arm. addressing Prat, in those words, To wit, pray sir what is your order. Why sd. Prat, I now you give you Charge of this Ship & you are to observe one thing, that you are to Carry her into Boston & that Should you be ingaged by any Ship what Ever, you are to sink before you Strike the Colours. Digs ans. yes Sir your Command Shall be obey'd; after this Remark Prat became quarter master again. at length we arrived safe in Boston. the Ship Alliance was halted a long side of Long warf [wharf] & Dis-mantled.⁸⁶ a Court of Inquire was Call'd by the board of War, which lasted 3 days & more. Capt. Waters, President, Capt. Tucker & many others of the navy, I Believe 13 in number. Landas was broke & the whole Ships Crew then to Shift for themselves.⁸⁷ now as I am about to take leave of all my old officers. It will not be a miss to say something of them. first of them, Brave Hon'able John Paul Jones. altho the British Print [Press] has sd. so much of him & made him out the worst of all men, yet I can say, & will say that during the time I sailed with him, I never sailed with any man more of a Seaman & gentleman than he was. he was brave, mild in action, & feed his Ships Crew well & treated both men & officers as a Commander ought to do. as for not giting our wages & prize money he was not to blame, & no other man Except that old Cowardly Peter Landas.⁸⁸ now as to 1st. Lieut. Richard Dale, now Commodore Dale, I consider him in Every Respect Equally Brave & the Seaman [a capable seaman]. 2nd Lieut. Lunt I can say but little about, Except he was an active little man, but no seaman. our worthy friend Doct. Brook & James Mease, the Purser, Braver men Could not live. I now was in Boston with out money. I Ship'd on bd. the Ship Amor of 24 guns, Com-manded by David Porter, the Father of the Present day Commodore Porter.⁸⁹ we

⁸⁶ The ship arrived in Boston August 19, 1780. Other details of the voyage are given in Morison, *Jones*, pp. 299-300.

⁸⁷ The Naval Court of Inquiry met and relieved Landais of command of the *Alliance*. Capt. Daniel Waters and Capt. Samuel Tucker, both of Massachusetts, and both officers in the Navy with outstanding records, were members of this board. See Dumas Malone, ed., *The Dictionary of American Biography*, (New York, 1936: 11 Vols.), X, pp. 39, 536. The Court Martial of Peter Landais, which lasted from November 20, 1780 until January 6, 1781, is in the *Continental Congress*, Folio 193, pp. 451-589. Landais was found guilty and removed from service in the navy.

⁸⁸ *Continental Congress*, Folio 168, II, p. 285, gives the details of the distribution of prize money to the crew of the *Bonhomme Richard* in 1784. Kilby's share was 161 livres, 6 sols, 4 deniers, or the equivalent in gold of \$323.00. There is no proof that Kilby received this money. When he applied for a pension in 1821, he stated, "that when he entered on board the *Bonhomme Richard* he received twenty French Crowns: in Holland he received one Ducat of nine shillings and six pence Sterling, and never one cent more either of prize money or wages." See Pension Certificate 2020, National Archives, hereinafter cited as Pension 2020. The pension approved for Kilby was \$8.00 per month.

⁸⁹ David Porter commanded several privateers during his career. One vessel afloat at that time was named *L'Amour de la Patrie*. This may have been the ship on which Kilby sailed. See Dudley W. Knox, *History of the United States Navy* (New York, 1936), p. 53.

went to the Port of Port au prince [Port-au-Prince, Haiti], then to the Port of L'Orient, France, & Returned to Boston. then I Ship'd on the Robin Hood of 24 guns Commanded by Sargent Smith, as gunner, Bound to Christian Sands, in Denmarke [Christiansand, Denmark]. Returned to Boston, I then together with two more of my Companions traveled by land to Maryland, the Place of my Nativity. on my arrival I found my mother had some time been dead, my Brother had long before Entered in to the service of his Country for 3 years or during the war, & being in the U. S. Service upwards of 3 years & was Kill'd at Camden in gates defeat.⁹⁰ I Remain'd at home about 2 months then went up to Baltimore, Ship'd on bd. the Schooner, Rambler of 12 guns, Commanded by Capt. Thomas Shiles, as 2nd mate, bound to St. Thomas. We arrived safe & on our pasage home was Captured by a Sloop of war of 16 guns, Lieut. Parker, Commander, with dispatches from New York to Admiral Hood in the West Indies. we fell in Company with the L'Amiable of 38 guns, Comamnded by Alexr. Hood, & was put on bd. of her. after some days, we fell in with the Balfleur [Barfleur] of 90 guns, admiral Hood.⁹¹ After some days, all the Prisoners in the Fleet was put on bd. the Tor Bay [Torbay] of 74 guns Commanded by Capt. Robinson, she having a few days before in a Chase after a French 74, together with the London Run ashore on mount aChrist [Monte Christi, the northern tip of the Dominican Republic] & Carried away her Ruder [Rudder]. the Tor Bay was ordered into Kingston (Jamaica).⁹² We the Prisoners then was all put on bd. and landed in Kingston (Jamaica) where we lay nearly 4 months. I at that time being an officer, was permitted to the liberty of the Town. at last through a friend who had many years before lived in Sommerset Cty. [Sommerset County, Maryland, adjacent to Forchester County) and had many Voyages sailed with an uncle of mine, laid a plan to git Capt. Shiles, myself, & the Capt's. Clerk, Mr. Wales, of; the plan was this, he owned many fishing boats. we was taken in one of them down to the Palisade, near Port Royal, where all the Fleet then lay, about the dawn of day. the boats was hall'd over the Palisades, a narry [narrow] neck of land, & in the monring all fishing in sight of the British Fleet. as soon as the land breeze Sprung up, Capt. White, a Danish burger of the island of St. George, was to Come out on his way up to the island & take us in. he did so, & we all got on bd. by giting up at the bow of the Vessell, I suppose unnoticed by the Fleet. the Schooner Strech'd for

⁹⁰ The only record found of the army service of a Kilby from the state of Maryland in the American Revolution was that of Thomas Kilby, who enlisted for a term of three years in Capt. John Eggleston's Company of Foot, of the Second Maryland Regiment, "in the service of the United States of America," on April 20, 1778. This company was under the command of Gen. Horatio Gates, who was defeated at the battle of Camden, in South Carolina, August 16, 1780. This was probably the brother of John Kilby. See Original Enlistment Paper, No. 80, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

Some of Kilby's neighbors in Maryland probably went to sea with him, as he mentioned "many more" when he enlisted. A John Turpin was a member of the crews of the *Sturdy Beggar* and the *Bonhomme Richard*. This man was most likely a neighbor and possibly a relative of Kilby, who named two of his sons Turpin.

⁹¹ Rear Admiral Sir Samuel Hood. The *Barfleur* was his flagship. See William Laird Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, (London, 1903: 7 vols.), Vol. 3, p. 497. Hereinafter cited as Clowes, *The Royal Navy*.

⁹² The *Torbay* often served as the flagship of Rear Admiral Francis Samuel Drake. The *London* was commanded by Capt. David Graves. See Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, Vol. 3, pp. 497, 513.

Forton Barracks. 1971. *Author's Collection*

Aureoys, the Port that she was to touch at. the 3rd day after leaving Kingston, we then about 2 leagues from Hispaniola, we was Chased by a British Frigate. Capt. White, if detected in having us on bd. would have been Subject to heavy fine & imprisonment, & we again taken & Sent back in Irons. the Frigate was Coming up with us very fast, we Resolved on taking the Schooner's boat, the small, & try the open sea. Altho the sea was very high, we hove her over board & made the best of our way for land. the Frigate fired near 100 Cannon at us, tho never Struck the boat. We at last made the beach. we then traveled by land to Aureoys, where we found the Vessell. here it was that Capt. Stiles left us. he sail'd for America, & I ship'd as 1st mate on bd. the Brigantine Catherine, Capt. Hall, Bound to Cathargena [Cartagena], South America. the Brig was a neutral bottom, owned in St. Thomas. on our arrival their, the news of Peace was announced, happy news to a man that had waded through a long & trying war, but it was for liberty that Kept. my Spirits up. the Brig was sold, when Capt. Isaiah Hill became the sole Purchaser. I Continued as 1st mate. we sail'd for Charleston, South Carolina. on our arrival, there I left the Brig Resolved once more to see home. I arrived in Norfolk, when & where I was prevailed on to make one more Voige as 1st mate, with Capt. John Bramble, of the Town of Norfolk. we sailed for the West Indies (guadaloupe). we sprung a leak, put into the Island of Bermuda, Refitted Sails & made the Voige. then went to New York where I got the Command of a Vessell

owned in Charleston (South Carolina).⁹³ I again Sail'd & went to the Island of Cubia, (the Port of St. Iago de Cubia) [Santiago de Cuba]. from their I went to Kingston, (Jamaica), sail'd & went to Wilmonton [Wilmington], North Carolina, then to Charleston. There I left the Vessell, Returned to Norfolk, where the same owners give me Command of the same Vessell I had Sail'd with Capt. Bramble, in which & one other belonging to the same owners, I made nearly 20 Voiges, all to the West Indies, after which I was given Command of the Ship, Hanover, after which I married & quit the seas.⁹⁴ Having given you an acct. of the most militiaril [military] things that passed for many years back, I Shall Conclude by Saying I am, Dr. Sir, & with high Respect,

yr. Most. Obd. Svt., [your Most Obedient Servant]

John Kilby

10 Sept. 1818⁹⁵

Palas, French Frigate in Congress Service,⁹⁶

Sir:

Texel, Octr., 6, 1779

you will be pleas'd to inform the lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 23th ult, being close in with Scarborough, about Eleven o'clock, a boat came on Board with a letter from the bailiff of that Corporation giving information of a Flying Squadron of the Enemy's Ships being on the Cost, and of a part of the said Squadron, on having been seen from thence the day before, Standing to the Southward; as soon as I Received this Inteligence, I made the Sygnal for the Convoy to bear down under my Lee, and Repeated it with two guns; notwithstanding which, the Van of the Convoy Kept their wind with all sail Stretching out to the Southward from under Flamborough head, till between twelve and one, when the headmost of them got sight of the Enemy's Ships, which were then in Chase of them. they then tack'd and made the best of their way under the shore for Scarborough, & leting Fly their Top gallant Sheets, and firing guns, upon which I made all the sail I could to windward, to get between the Enemy's Ships & the Convoy, which I soon Effected. at one O'clock we got sight of the Enemy's Ships. from the Mast head, and about four we made them plain from the Deck to be three large Ships and a Brig, upon which I made the *Countess of Scarborough* signal to me, she being in Shore with the Convoy. at the same time I made the Signal for the Convoy to make the best of their way and Repeated

⁹³ Mary M. Galt, "Galt Family of Williamsburg," *William and Mary Quarterly*, VIII, no. 4 (April, 1900), p. 262. On December 27, 1782, Dr. John M. Galt visited "Capt. Kilby," so Kilby was then a commander of a vessel.

⁹⁴ Kilby married Elizabeth Thompson, December 26, 1787. After her death in 1818, he married a widow named Talley. He was a resident of Hanover County, Virginia, by 1789, and a magistrate by 1802. See Pension 2020. Also, S. C. Southall, ed., "Records of Hanover County," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXII, no. 1, (July, 1914), pp. 25-30; also, William P. Palmer and Sherwin McRae, eds., *The Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, (Richmond, 1885: 11 Vols.), Vol. 5, p. 324.

⁹⁵ The date at the beginning of the *Narrative* is 1810. Possibly Kilby worked on the manuscript over a period of years.

⁹⁶ Kilby here furnished a copy of Captain Pearson's official report of the encounter between the *Serapis* and the *Bonhomme Richard*, as reported to Mr. Stephens, of the British Admiralty Office. The full text is reprinted in Sherburne, *Jones*.

the signal with two guns. I then Brought to, to let the *Countess of Scarborough* come up, and Cleared Ship for action. at half past five the *Countess of Scarborough* joined me. the Enemy's Ships then bearing down upon us. with a light breeze at S. S. W. at six tacked, and laid our head in Shore. in order to keep our ground the better between the Enemy's Ships and the Convoy, soon after which we perceived the Ships bearing down upon us to be a two deck Ship and two Frigates. but from their Keeping End on upon us, on bearing down, we could not discern what Colours they were under; at about twenty minutes past seven, the largest Ship of the three Brought to, on our larboard Bow, within musket Shot. I hail'd him, and asked what Ship it was. They answered in English, the *princess Royal*. I then asked where they belonged to, they answered Evasively; on which I tole them if they did not answer directly, I would fire into them. they then answered with a Shot, which was instantly Returned with a broadside, and after Exchanging two or three Broad sides, he backed his Topsails, and dropped upon our quarter within Pistole Shot, then fill'd again, put his helm a weather and run us on board. upon our weather quarter, and attempted to board us, but being Repulsed, he Shear'd off. upon which I backed our Top sails, in order to get square with him again, which, as soon as he observed, he then fill'd, put his helm a weather, and laid us athwart hawse, his mizen Shrouds too our jibboom, which hung him for some time, till it at last gave way, and we Dropt a longside of Each other, head and Stern. when the Fluke of our square anchor hooking his quarter. we became so close fore and aft, that the muzzles of our guns touched Each others Sides. in this position we Engaged from half past Eight till half past Ten, during which time, from the great quantity and Variety of Combustible matters which they threw in upon our Decks, Chains and in Short into Every part of the Ship, we were on fire no less than Ten or Twelve times in different parts of the Ship; and it was with the greatest difficulty and Exertion imaginable at times that we were able to get it Extinguished. at the same time, the largest of the two Frigates Kept sailing Round us the whole action, and Reking us fore and aft, by which means she Killed or wounded almost Every man on the quarter and main Decks. about half past nine, Either from a hand grenade being thrown in at one of our lower Deck ports, or from some other accident, a Cartridge of powder was set on fire, the Flames of which Running from Cartridge to Cartridge all the way aft, Blew up the whole of the people and officers that were quartered abaft the main mast, from which unfortunate Circumstances all these guns were Rendered useless for the Remainder of the action, and I fear the greatest part of the people will lose their lives. at Ten o'clock they Call'd for quarter from the Ship along side, and said they had struck. hearing this, I Call'd upon the Capt. to know if they had struck or if he asked for quarter; but no answer being made, after Repeating my words two or three times, I Call'd for the boarders, and ordered them to board, which they did. but the moment they were on board her, they discovered a Superior number laying under Cover with pikes in their hands Ready to Receive them, on which our people Retreated instantly into out own Ship, and Returned to their guns again till past Ten when the Frigate Coming across our Stern, and pouring her Broadside into us again, without our being able to bring a gun to bear on her, I found it in vain, and in Short impracticable,

from the situation we were in, to stand out any longer with the least prospect of success. I therefore Struck, (main mast at the same time went by the board). the first Lieut. and myself were immediately Escorted into the Ship a longside, where we found her to be an American Ship of war, Call'd the *Bonhomme Richard*, of 40 guns, and 375 men, Commanded by Capt. Paul Jones; the other Frigate which Engaged us, to be the *Alliance* of 40 guns and 300 men; and the third Frigate which engaged and took the *Countess of Scarborough*, after two hours action, to be the *Pallas*, a French Frigate of 32 guns and 275 men; the *Le Vengeance*, an armed Brig of 12 guns, and 70 men, all in Congress service, and under the Command of Paul Jones. they fitted out and sailed from Port L'Orient, the latter End of July, and came about. they have on board 300 English prisoners which they have taken in different Vessels in their way Round, since they left France, and have ransomed some others. on my going on board the *Bonhomme Richard*, I found her in the greatest distress; her quarters and Counter on the lower Deck Entirely drove in, and the whole of the lower Deck guns dismantled. She was also on fire in two places, and six or seven feet water in her hole, which Kept increasing upon them all night and the next day, till they were obliged to quit her, and she sunk with a great number of her wounded people on board her. She had 306 men Kill'd and wounded in the action; our loss on the *Serapis* was very great. My officers and people in general behaved well, and I should be very Remiss in my attention to their merit were I to omit Recommending the Remains of them to His Lordship's favour. I must at the same time beg leave to inform their lordships, that Capt. Piercy, on the *Countess of Scarborough*, was not in the least Remiss in his duty, he having given me Every assistance in his power, as much as Could be Expected from such a ship engaging the attention of the *Pallas*, a Frigate of 32 guns, during the whole action. I am Extremely Sorry for the misfortune that has happened, that of losing his majesty's Ship. I had the Honour to Command, but at the same time I flatter myself with the hopes, that their lordships will be Convinced that she has not been given away; but on the Contrary, that Every Exertion has been used to defend her; and that two Essential pieces of service to our Country have arisen from it; the one, in wholly oversetting the Cruise and intention of the this flying squadron; the other in Rescuing the whole of a Valuable convoy from falling into the hands of the Enemy, which must have been the Case had I acted any other wise than I did. we have been driving about in the North Sea Ever since the action, indeavouring to make to any port we possibly Could, but have not been able to get in to any place till today, we arrived in the Texel; herewith I inclose you the most Exact list of the Kill'd and wounded. I have as yet been able to procure from my people being dispersed amongst the different Ships; and having been Refused permission to muster them; there are, I find, many more, both Kill'd and wounded, than appears on the Inclosed list, but their names as yet I find impossible to ascertain; as soon as I possibly can shall give their lordships a full account of the whole.

I am Sir,

your most obedient and
most Humble Servant,
R. Pearson

P.S. I am Refused permission to wait on Sir. Joseph Yorks, and Even to go on Shore.

abstract of the list of Kill'd and wounded, Kill'd 49, wounded 63.

I shall take the liberty to Contradict some parts of the above letter; first, Pearson says the *Alliance* Kept Constantly sailing Round & Raking him the whole of the action. It's untrue, for the *Alliance* never came up untill Just before the Close of the action and when she did Come up, in Room of firing in to the Enemy's Ship, she Come under our Larboard quarter & Raked us fore & aft altho she was Cautioned of it being the *Bonhomme Richard*, before he had fired a gun. the 1st Broadside he give us he Kill'd 11 men. did I say a Broadside. It was Reather more like a salute than a Broadside, for he Commenced by firing the Starboard bow gun & Continued one after another till he discharged 14 12 pounders, Every Ball of which went through our Cabon windows, & out at our Bow & so soon as the Ship Shot ahead of us, she hove about & discharged the other broadside as before. Again Pearson says that many of our Dead & wounded went down in our Ship. It's Equally untrue. I don't believe one sole of Either dead or wounded went down in the Ship. again he Says that he Kill'd & wounded 306 of our men. Still worse, & in my opinion makes against Pearson, for if he had Kill'd & wounded that number of us, ought he not to have taken us. Shurely he ought, for he says we had only 375 men, & by that Rule, how many more had we left. why 69 men, handsome business for 69 men to take his Majesty's Ship with 288, for he had on his books 400 men. the truth is that we had 100 men Kill'd dead & 100 wounded, many of the wounded died the next day. The *Serapis* lost 100 dead & 100 wounded. this was in proof by their Ships books. of course it was true, but the truth is this, a British Commander could not indure to have it said, that one of his majesty's Ships was to be taken by an American Rebel, as they so Call'd us then. but time has changed, the weight is now in the other scail. I will say this for Capt. Pearson & his officers. they all fought Brave & had we not have had such a mixed disaffected Crew, when I say disaffected Crew, I mean all those that Jones had Entered out of French Prisons, I Realy believe we should have taken the ship in nearly one-half of the time, Capt. Pearson was like all other British Commanders when they wright to their government. It's not to be Expected for them to give the truth. had he have done so, it would have been departing from the Principal, at least for a Century past.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Kilby's comments on Pearson's report are all borne out by the sources previously cited in this edition.

CHARLES CARROLL AND THE PASSING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY GENERATION

BY ROBERT P. HAY

THERE was simply no question about it. Charles Carroll of Carrollton was a Federalist of the old school. Like some English gentleman vainly trying to preserve his landed estate and his ancient privileges, Carroll struggled to fight off that dreaded symptom of modernity, the seemingly insatiable demands of the swinish multitude. He was opposed to an end to property qualifications for voting and office holding. He was opposed to the popular election of Maryland's governor and state senators. During the Jeffersonian era, he openly coerced his employees into voting for Federalist candidates for office.¹ He was thoroughly out of step with his age.

Or was he? Despite his political behavior, in his later years Charles Carroll was revered as few Americans have ever been. Since the 1820's and 1830's have been viewed as decades preeminent for their brawny democrats, it seems a little strange that this holdover aristocrat should have commanded the respect of his contemporaries. It was an age when most Americans claimed political descent from Thomas Jefferson. Most men of the time looked upon Federalism as being synonymous with the Alien and Sedition Acts, with the Hartford Convention, even with attempted treason and disunion. Why, then, did the nation pay homage to a millionaire Federalist with a European background and refined ways? Did American democrats of the 1820's and 1830's have such short memories as all that?

Americans' memories were long enough. Even as they honored him, the American people knew of Carroll's Federalist background. That they revered him nonetheless testifies to the fact that there was something far more important to them than a man's past politics. That something was the survival of the American experiment in self-government. Preoccupied with republicanism even more than with the advance of democracy, Americans recalled that Carroll had been one of the fifty-six signers of that document which had proclaimed the American experiment in the first place. Seen from the vantage point of fifty years, seen through the haze of glorious myths and legends, the Revolutionary decade now seemed to have been a peculiarly self-sacrificing, patriotic time. Carroll was one of those "venerable relics of an age of glory"² that lesser men—and who did not think himself a lesser man?—now stood in awe of.

¹ David Hackett Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy* (New York, 1965), pp. 12, 108, 162.

² Charleston (S. C.) *Southern Patriot*, July 5, 1832.



Charles Carroll of Carrollton.
By Michael Laty after Robert Field.
Maryland Historical Society.

He was thought to be a living, breathing embodiment of the principles of individual liberty upon which the nation had been founded. Imitation of him and of those who acted in concert with him in '76 could save the world's only viable experiment in self-government and thereby give inspiration to the downtrodden throughout all the nations. When Carroll appeared in public, patriots strained to catch a glimpse of that living monument of republicanism. Appropriately enough, Carroll carried a copy of the Declaration of Independence in the Baltimore's Fourth of July procession in 1820. Upon accepting the document from him, the reader of the day asked with emotion: "Who could witness such a scene unmoved? Who could stand in the presence of the venerable patriot, and not catch the influence of that holy flame, which filled, illumined, and inspired *him*, in '76?"³ If anyone could, he would not have admitted it.

Carroll was admired before. After the simultaneous deaths of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams on the Fourth of July 1826, however, Carroll was a national relic cherished and adored. After that, he was "the last survivor of that sacred band, who 'signed, sealed and delivered' the Great Charter of American Freedom."⁴ "The last surviving signer of the Great Charter of Mankind" was what John Quincy Adams, stressing the worldwide implications of the American experiment, preferred to call him.⁵

³ *Niles' Weekly Register*, XVII (July 8, 1820), p. 329.

⁴ *Southern Patriot*, July 5, 1832.

⁵ John Quincy Adams to W. B. Barney, November 19, 1832, in the Washington (D. C.) *Daily National Intelligencer*, Nov. 26, 1832.

For the next six years the last of the signers "seemed to concentrate in his own person the veneration which was yielded to them all."⁶ Patriots flocked to see Carroll. A few at a time sought audiences.⁷ Political conventions went en masse. To express their gratitude for his Revolutionary services and to gain something from his nine decades of wisdom, National Republicans trekked dutifully to his residence.⁸ So did the Democrats.⁹ Men said Charles Carroll and meant the Revolution.

Men visited him and imagined themselves at the feet of the entire Revolutionary generation. Men talked with him and believed that they were communing with the very spirit of that pure, undefiled patriotism which now seemed to be increasingly uncommon in the world. In the presence of "the patriarch," roaring party lions were as meek as little lambs. "It were good for the nation that he should long continue amongst us," someone wrote, "for in his presence all party feuds are hushed; and the demagogue, accustomed to vociferate elsewhere, in his vicinity to be heard, talks not above his breath when the aged patriot is near."¹⁰

When Carroll was not able to participate in public ceremonies, the processions were given routes which went by his Baltimore mansion. He could not take his assigned place of honor in the line of march for the celebration of the centennial of Washington's birth, but Carroll stood watching from his house as "*the citizens passed him uncovered amid the waving of banners and martial music.*"¹¹

For his part, Carroll knew that the adulation accorded him was actually being rendered through him to the entire Revolutionary generation. He was all the more fitting as a symbol of the Revolution because he did not attempt to assign himself a greater role than patriotic ideology had given him. Shortly before the centennial of Washington's birth, he wrote: "To General Washington mainly belongs, under the protection of Providence, these blessings [we enjoy as Americans]: and I shall in unison with my fellow countrymen, offer up my prayers to that Providence, which sustained us, and my gratitude to the memory of the man, whose virtues so ably maintained the struggle that created us into a nation and by whose wisdom, it was fostered and now

⁶ New York *Evening Post*, as reprinted in the Portland (Me.) *Eastern Argus*, Nov. 23, 1832.

⁷ See the Rockville *Maryland Journal and True American*, June 5, 1832, for an account of a Portland, Maine, newspaper editor's "audience" with "the last of the Romans." Carroll talked, among other topics, "of the Great Washington, whom he said he had seen in his private circle of friends laughing heartily many a time, the asseveration to the contrary notwithstanding."

⁸ *Journal of the National Republican Convention, which assembled in the City of Baltimore, Dec. 12, 1831, for the Nominations of Candidates to fill the Offices of President and Vice President* (Washington, D. C., n. d.), pp. 12-13.

⁹ *Baltimore Republican*, as reprinted in the Paris (Me.) *Jeffersonian*, June 5, 1832.

¹⁰ *Fredericksburg Virginia Herald*, Aug. 29, 1832; Bridgeton (N. J.) *West Jersey Observer*, Nov. 24, 1832.

¹¹ *Daily National Intelligencer*, Feb. 24, 1832; *Baltimore Republican*, Feb. 24, 1832.



Carroll Mansion, Front and Lombard Streets, Baltimore. 1967. *The Peale Museum*.

flourishes.”¹² Carroll understood full well the order of American gratitude, even though he lingered to fill the singular position of last of the signers.

As they paid tribute to the Sages of Monticello and Quincy in 1826, eulogists had noted Carroll’s singular position. “That bright constellation, the light of which has shone upon the world for fifty years, is now reduced to a single star, whose beams feebly twinkle on the horizon, and soon will be seen no more.”¹³ The metaphor was a favorite with those who sang Carroll’s praises during his last six years. Explicitly the metaphor made Carroll a part of a constellation of talented and self-sacrificing men who had led the nation in the Revolution, who had continued for several decades to favor the nation with their brilliance. But the metaphor was also apt for its implicit meaning. It effectively conveyed the fears felt by Americans at the prospect of Carroll’s passing. Americans had set out on the right political course in 1776 because they had fixed their position by gazing at the stars. But what lay ahead when the last twinkling star went out? Darkness. In the political darkness, as in the physical night when there are no familiar stars, men grope. Men stumble and stray, and sometimes men lose their way altogether.

¹² Charles Carroll to J. I. Cohen, Jr., in the *Republican*, Feb. 24, 1832.

¹³ *The First Jubilee of American Independence; and, Tribute of Gratitude to the Illustrious Adams and Jefferson* (Newark, N. J., 1826), pp. 59-60. The eulogist was the Rev. Philip Courtland Hay.

By their own profession, patriotic pilgrims came to bask in the beams of the last star. Standing in Carroll's presence a few months before his death in 1832, a group of young men of the National Republican persuasion assured the patriarch:

Amidst that galaxy of talent, which, like a sign in the heavens, lighted our fathers through a wilderness of wrongs, to the goal of freedom, and diffused its rays over the oppressed, the suffering, and benighted, of *all nations*, no star burned with a more intense, yet mild and steady blaze, than that which we contemplate, still bright, descending in the horizon of freedom, and shedding its benignant lustre on admiring millions.

What more could the young men say, except that they would "humbly endeavor to walk by its light"?¹⁴

The metaphor of the last star in freedom's galaxy was not so serviceable after Carroll's death in early November, 1832, as it had been before. During his life the metaphor had enhanced Carroll's reputation by emphasizing his singular role as the last of the signers, but now its suggestion that Carroll's passing would mark the beginning of the political night came hauntingly to mind. "The last star of that resplendent galaxy of worthies, having anxiously watched over the cradle of his country, and attended her through all the gradations of increasing greatness to her present state of adult vigor and enviable prosperity, has set in peace; and passing from its inferior orbit, been transferred to a loftier and a brighter sphere."¹⁵ That was fine for the star, but what about those vexed and troubled creatures who remained earth-bound below?

Some tried modifying the metaphor. After all, there were still those living who had been engaged as soldiers or statesmen in the Revolutionary War. Included in this dwindling number were Lafayette, James Madison, and John Marshall. The story of Andrew Jackson's brief Revolutionary career was a tale often repeated by supporters who understood the American need to maintain the human link with the Republic's golden age. There were, in short, a few stars remaining even after Carroll's light went out. "Here and there a solitary star remains, to attract the eye and warm the hearts of those who love and admire them [the Revolutionaries] for their virtues and their services."¹⁶

But this modification was not really very comforting, for it only meant that the time of darkness would be postponed a little. "Thus one after another, the luminaries of the Revolution are leaving the stage of action, and soon the whole of the bright galaxy, which in those dark days, adorned the land,

¹⁴ *Proceedings of the National Republican Convention of Young Men, which assembled in the City of Washington May 7, 1832* (Washington, D. C., 1832), p. 13.

¹⁵ *Daily National Intelligencer*, Nov. 20, 1832.

¹⁶ *Republican*, as reprinted in the *Jeffersonian*, Nov. 27, 1832.

must be numbered with the silent dead, and live only in the grateful recollection of those for whom they have purchased liberty, independence, prosperity and happiness."¹⁷ The day was still coming when men would have only a remembrance of the stars to guide them.

Many more abandoned the metaphor altogether. Trying not to mourn, they simply said that the venerable Marylander had fought the good republican fight, that he had kept the American faith. The perils of his early manhood had been succeeded by "a peaceful, honored, and ripe old age." He had been blessed by being one of the three signers who "were permitted to see the great experiment of a representative confederacy confirmed by the events of fifty years."¹⁸ Indeed, it was imagined that Carroll had gone to his rest "happier" than either Jefferson or Adams inasmuch as he had lived to see the hopes of the Founding Fathers realized by six "additional years of national happiness and prosperity."¹⁹

Others tried dwelling on Carroll's deeds of '76. For his benediction, they recalled the bravery and courage he had shown in the nation's hour of birth. As an illustration of his self-sacrificing nature, they circulated that story from the American Apocrypha which explained why Carroll, alone of all the signers, had appended his place of residence to his signature on the Declaration of Independence:

The Patriots who signed that document did it, almost literally, with ropes about their necks, it being commonly supposed that they would, if unsuccessful, be hung as rebels. When Carroll had signed his name, some one at his elbow remarked, 'You'll get clear—there are several of that name—they will not know which to take.' 'Not so,' replied he, and immediately added, 'of Carrollton.'²⁰

But neither the emphasis upon his long and honored life nor upon his Revolutionary role could prevent the sense of finality from showing through. "The Last of that Sacred Band . . . Is no More!"²¹ "THE LAST OF THE SIGNERS IS DEAD!"²² "The venerable Patriarch of the Revolution, CHARLES CARROLL, of CARROLLTON, is no more."²³ "The last of the Romans" had departed.²⁴ "'A great man hath fallen in Israel!'"²⁵ Allusions to American, classical, and Biblical history only underscored the nation's gnawing sense of loss. The sense of loss hardly came because one

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *West Jersey Observer*, Dec. 8, 1832.

¹⁹ *New York Evening Post*, as reprinted in the *Eastern Argus*, Nov. 23, 1832.

²⁰ *Jeffersonian*, December 18, 1832; *Worcester Massachusetts Spy*, December 26, 1832; *West Jersey Observer*, December 29, 1832.

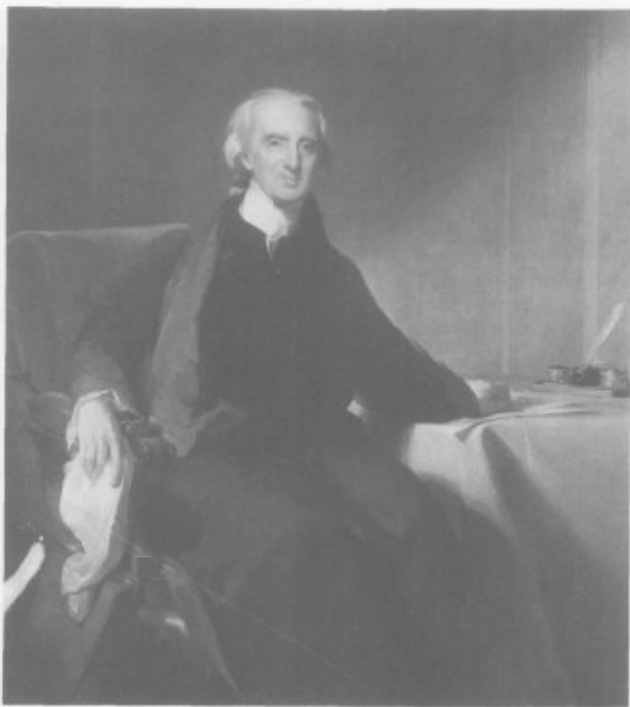
²¹ *Baltimore American*, November 15, 1832, as reprinted in the *Massachusetts Spy*, Nov. 21, 1832.

²² *Ibid.* See also, the *Daily National Intelligencer*, Nov. 16, 1832.

²³ *Daily National Intelligencer*, Nov. 16, 1832.

²⁴ *American*, Nov. 5, 1832, as reprinted in the *Massachusetts Spy*, November 21, 1832.

²⁵ *Baltimore Patriot*, as reprinted in the *Princess-Anne (Md.) Village Herald*, November 20, 1832.



Charles Carroll of Carrollton. By Thomas Sully, signed and dated TS1834.
State of Maryland State House, Annapolis.

man full of years and full of honors had finally died. It came rather because Carroll's departure seemed to signify the extinction of a race of patriotic giants. Americans grieved not for an ordinary man but for "a *parent*."²⁶ They were "feelingly alive to the privation sustained by the Republic, in the death of the last of her fathers."²⁷ Charles Carroll of Carrollton had been gathered to his fathers, "and with him have vanished all the endearing associations which lately encircled the name of the *last surviving signer* of the charter of our liberties."²⁸ With Carroll, men feared, the Revolutionary Age was passing away.

Even if many Americans talked of the nation's happiness, of her prosperity, of her six decades of republican success, even if they tried not to mourn, they mourned nonetheless. They mourned the passing of the symbolic presence of the Revolution. It was "a National Event": "the last relic of *the Patriotic Age*" had made his exit from the world of the living.²⁹ Some literally, most

²⁶ "A WASHINGTONIAN" to the editor of the *Daily National Intelligencer*, Nov. 22, 1832.

²⁷ *Daily National Intelligencer*, Nov. 20, 1832.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Patriot*, as reprinted in the *Village Herald*, Nov. 20, 1832.



Charles Carroll of Carrollton. By Anson Dickinson, 1824. Miniature in the *Maryland Historical Society's Collection*.

figuratively—all reverentially—followed as Carroll's coffin was carried to the gravesite. When "the mortal part" of Charles Carroll was lowered into the grave, it marked for many the passing of the "last of the noblest band of self-devoted patriots and statesmen that the world ever saw."³⁰ As they stood literally and figuratively at Carroll's final resting place, Americans were all the more impressed with the awful finality of the words that had been spoken at his death: "The only remaining link which connected this generation with the past, with that illustrious race of statesmen, philanthropists and patriots, the founders of American Independence, and the benefactors of the world, now and for all time hereafter—is broken."³¹

The disquietude one finds in accounts of Carroll's old age and death reveals that the Revolutionary tradition was a mixed blessing. Part fact and part patriotic fantasy, the Revolutionary tradition gave the nation a heritage, a sense of common origin which a people of many ethnic backgrounds badly needed. For a nation which had rejected the hoary tradition of Europe because it was allegedly composed of myths and fables and superstitions, the glorious American Revolution provided a usable, if a shorter past. The legend of Revolutionary unanimity held up an example of unity to an age threatened with a dissolution of the Union itself. The legend of Revolutionary self-sacrifice and noble exertion presented a morally-acceptable alternative to an age which saw itself as one of increasingly cynical and selfish scrambling for place and power.

³⁰ *American*, Nov. 19, 1832, as reprinted in the *West Jersey Observer*, Nov. 24, 1832.

³¹ *American*, Nov. 15, 1832, as reprinted in the *Massachusetts Spy*, Nov. 21, 1832.

But in a sense, Americans of the 1820's and 1830's were entrapped in their own nationalistic ideology. Just six months before he died, Charles Carroll himself had assured an admirer that "Men are alike at all times."³² Not even when they came from the lips of that venerable man could such words be believed. Americans of the time were so conditioned to think that their Revolutionary forebears were preeminently great that they could hardly imagine republicanism without them. At least a few were needed to provide a symbolic presence. Yet they were rapidly passing away, and the prospect of the Republic without its founders loomed ominously ahead.³³

At the same time, tradition had made the Revolutionaries such resplendent models of virtue and republicanism that subsequent generations doubted that they themselves could live up the example set by the men of '76 or carry on as well after the last of the Fathers had departed. Mythologizing the Fathers until they were larger than life-size had succeeded in effectively dwarfing the sons in their own imaginations. Time and time again, these sons who were less than their Fathers had been warned that their whole duty was to preserve in all its purity the republican liberty which the Fathers had handed down. Henry Clay brought the appropriate reminder to a group of young men shortly before they visited Charles Carroll in 1832.

The responsibility which attaches to you is immense. [he told them, repeating what they already knew.] It is not our own country alone that will be affected by the result of the great experiment of self-government which will be shortly committed exclusively to your hands. The eyes of all civilized nations are intensely gazing upon us; and it may be truly asserted that the fate of Liberty throughout the World, mainly depends upon the maintenance of American Liberty. May you, gentlemen, be deeply penetrated with the magnitude of the sacred trust confided to you.³⁴

It was precisely because Americans were so "deeply penetrated with the magnitude of the sacred trust" confided to them that the death of the last of the signers, the symbol of the entire Revolutionary generation, seemed a national tragedy to many. Though they did not say it, though they did not even like to think about it, for many the passing of the last of the giants brought mainly a feeling of helplessness and a sense of impending failure. When the last of the stars went out, there might be a momentary afterglow, but sooner or later a meaner, if not a thoroughly debased generation would surely face the possibility of stumbling in the dark—of stumbling and falling and forever dashing the hopes of the world.

³² *Maryland Journal and True American*, June 5, 1832.

³³ American republicanism was not the only ideology jolted by the deaths of its ideologists, of course. The deaths of the formulators of any revolutionary creed tend to create a psychological crisis. This has been well illustrated in more modern times by the almost religious veneration accorded Lenin in death and the aging Mao Tse-tung in life.

³⁴ *Proceedings of the National Republican Convention of Young Men*, p. 9.

NOTES ON MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

BY NANCY G. BOLES, *Curator of Manuscripts*

Microfilming—A Safeguard for Manuscripts

EARLY in 1970 the Jacob and Annita France Foundation generously gave the Maryland Historical Society money for the purchase of a microfilm camera. The purpose for making such a large expenditure was twofold: we hoped thereby to facilitate the awarding of grants by the National Historical Publications Commission to the Society for microfilming our important collections and making them available on a widespread basis to scholars and universities at a moderate cost. We also hoped to microfilm our badly deteriorating large collections, retire the originals, and provide microfilm copies for reader use. In this latter enterprise we received the financial and technical support of Scholarly Resources, Inc., of Wilmington, Delaware. In addition to meeting these two goals, we have been able to provide readers and correspondents with microfilm copies of our manuscript material and thereby facilitate their research. We only ask that the recipients agree to pay for a set of microfilm for the Society unless the request is for scattered items. In order to have a whole collection filmed, individuals must receive the written permission of the Director and Council of the Society. All three of these types of microfilming help preserve our manuscripts, for in most cases we can retire the originals and prevent further damage to fragile materials.

When the Society embarked on its new venture, we were all novices in an unfamiliar world of density charts, focusing procedures, light meters, and targets. With expert technical advice from Mr. T. Wistar Brown of Scholarly Resources, our two successive camera operators, David Paulson and Cheryl Florie, became accurate and proficient. Mr. Fred Shelley of the NHPC has always been eager to answer any questions on the best way to proceed.

Microfilming is no easy task, for complications arise from both the technical and editorial side. Large newspapers or bulky ledgers must be held in place and filmed without losing the writing in the gutters and without damaging the original. Decisions on the order of filming, the process of dating undated material, or identifying nameless senders and recipients can often take days or weeks.

Obviously we cannot undertake such a costly and detailed editing for private orders. A readable, personal copy, targeted to identify name and location of the papers, is all a reader expects and should receive. But for the NHPC a much more demanding and precise editorial standard is followed

and a printed guide to the microfilm is produced for each title. This provides a biographical sketch of the authors of the collection and descriptive roll notes. In preparation for microfilming, a collection is carefully sorted and arranged, usually chronologically, so that a microfilm project results in a better disposition of the papers themselves.

The Society feels a strong sense of responsibility to share its research material and these projects help in the care and preservation of manuscripts as well. We have completed three titles for the NHPC to date. The Robert Goodloe Harper and the David Bailie Warden of five and eight rolls respectively (available at \$10 a roll) were edited by Bayly Ellen Marks of Catonsville Community College in the summer of 1970, and the William Wirt Papers in twenty-four rolls (\$240 for the set) were completed last fall by John B. Boles of Towson State College. Dr. Boles is now at work on a second project, the very valuable John Pendleton Kennedy Collection. These papers belong to the Peabody Department of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, which is cooperating with the Society in a microfilm endeavor to benefit historical and literary scholars of the middle period of American history. The Society is justifiably proud to have a part in bringing this hitherto little used but remarkably rich collection to wider accessibility. Since many pages are deteriorating and the ink fading, a microfilm edition will lessen the use of the manuscripts and preserve their content. In addition two other collections belonging to the Society—the Calvert and the Lloyd—will be filmed this year, bringing to six the number of NHPC projects completed here.

Our joint enterprise with Scholarly Resources on the filming of the extensive, crucially important, and rapidly disintegrating Maryland State Colonization Society Papers is our biggest salvaging job to date. Restricted to microfilm, the brittle crumbling documents will never have to be handled again. We are indebted to Mr. T. Wistar Brown for his willingness to undertake this project. Like the NHPC titles, the Colonization Papers have a printed pamphlet, and both the guide and the microfilm (thirty-one rolls) can be ordered either through the Society or Scholarly Resources, Inc.

Also Mr. Brown has filmed two of our 1782-3 tax lists (for Harford and Baltimore Counties), and they are available in bound offset form.

The Maryland Historical Society has done a great deal of microfilming for individuals too, ranging from long lists of assorted letters from many different papers to extensive parts of single collections. Occasionally a private order will seem important enough to offer for sale to others. The Minutes of the Baltimore Public Assistance Agencies, 1833-1935, were originally filmed as an individual order for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. But the obvious value of the almshouse minutes in tracing nearly one hundred years of welfare service in Baltimore led to the decision to sell the two roll set through Scholarly Resources.

It is evident then that microfilm is another valuable solution to the ever increasing problem of document deterioration. Microfilming, by both preserving original manuscripts and documents, and making them more widely available, perfectly suits the purposes of the Maryland Historical Society. Scholars of the present and future are served through a carefully planned microfilm program.

ACCESSIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT DIVISION SINCE
THE PUBLICATION OF *MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS*
*OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY*¹ IN
AUGUST, 1968.

IV

Kingsworth, Eliza, Copybooks (MS. 1740). School copybooks in penmanship, history and geography of Eliza Kingsworth; 13 vols., 1824-33. Donor: Not known.

Krug, G., & Sons Business Records (MS. 1756). Account books, ledgers, journals, letterbooks, etc., of G. Krug & Son (original business begun by Andrew Merker in 1841), ornamental ironworkers; 100 vols., 1841-1963. Donor: Theodore F. Krug.

Labroquere Collection (MS. 1848). Account book, receipts, etc., of Bernard Titon Labroquere, Baltimore cooper and naturalized citizen who fled Santo Domingo after an 1805 slave uprising. Includes naturalization papers and notarized statement of his escape in 1805; 29 items, 1813-78, 1960. Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Sewell.

Lafayette Memorial Statue Hearings (MS. 1710). Stenographer's record of the hearings in Baltimore over the location of Andrew O'Connor's equestrian statue of Lafayette, finally placed in Mt. Vernon Square; 1 vol., 1923. Donor: Not known.

Latrobe, Benjamin H., Jr. Photostats (MS. 1832). Correspondence between Latrobe and John Bloomfield Jervis discussing engineering problems particularly in relation to railroad bridges, and fuel for locomotives; 5 letters and 2 pamphlets, 1839-62. Purchase from the Jervis Library, Rome, N. Y.

Latrobe, John H. B., Diaries (MS. 1677). Personal and business diaries and a letterbook of Baltimore lawyer, J. H. B. Latrobe, covering his early legal career; restricted; 3 vols., 1824-40. Donor: John E. Semmes, Jr.

Latrobe, Julia E., "Sketch of Isaac Hazelhurst" (MS. 1725). Biographical sketch of Philadelphian Isaac Hazelhurst by his granddaughter, Julia E. Latrobe. Also a sketch of George Balgden Hazelhurst; 1 vol., prior to 1890. Donor: Dr. Lawrence Wharton.

¹ Indexed listing and description of 1724 of the Society's collections. Available from the Society for \$15.00.

Latrobe, Mary Tenant Mactier, Papers (MS. 1758). Papers dealing with Mary Tenant Mactier Latrobe's attempts to collect money under the French Spoliation Act for losses sustained by her father, Alexander Mactier; 48 items, 1805-1907. Donor: Capt. Claiborne Latrobe.

Latrobe-Vinton Collection (MS. 2009.1). Letters of Mary and David Vinton, Samuel and Mary Brown, and an illustrated dance book, 1812, of Julia E. Latrobe. Latrobe items restricted; 1 vol. and 15 items, 1796-1867. Donor: Mrs. A. H. Onderdonk.

Lawrence Family Papers (MS. 1794). Personal notes, business letters, deeds, contracts, indentures, land surveys, etc., of the Lawrence, Downey, and Wright families of Frederick County, Maryland; 50 items, 1814-1949. Donor: Dr. H. Hanford Hopkins.

League of Nations Association, Maryland Branch, Records (MS. 1674). Committee and annual reports, correspondence, speeches of the Maryland Branch; records of the Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts; records of the Committee to defend America by Aiding the Allies in World War II, including literature, speeches, and letters on the national and local level to President Roosevelt, members of Congress and the cabinet; literature on the formation of the United Nations; etc.; 13 boxes, 1928-51. Donor: Miss Jessie Snow.

Levy, M. S., & Sons Accounts and Records (MS. 1091). Accounts, contracts and catalogs of this Baltimore straw, felt, and cloth hat manufacturer; 3 vols. and 40 items, 1884-1958. Donor: Lester S. Levy.

Litting, George, Account Book (MS. 1657). Litting was a Baltimore hatter and his record book includes accounts for hats and furniture, also ground and house rents, household bills, and notes on the voyage of G. Wells Litting, a seaman; 1 vol., 1796-1878. Donor: Mrs. John W. Nicol, Jr.

Log Inn Collection (MS. 1850). Primarily financial and business correspondence between William T. Emory, proprietor of the Log Inn, an Annapolis summer hotel, and David R. Randall, his attorney; 1 box, 1919-28. Donor: Richard H. Randall, Jr.

London Town Ferry Accounts (MS. 1687). Ledgers of tolls kept by ferry keeper William Brown of Anne Arundel County; 2 vols., 1778-79. Donor: Not known.

Loud-Goldsborough Papers (MS. 1513). Deeds, plats and accounts of the Goldsborough family of Talbot County, papers of the firm of Loud & Sadler of Columbus, Florida, accounts of cotton shipment, stock of Columbus [Florida] Bridge Co. and Georgia land papers; 160 items, 1659-1883. Donor: Mrs. Eleanor Goldsborough Bartlett Therien.

Lucas-Gideon Letters (MS. 1709). Correspondence between Fielding Lucas, Jr., of Baltimore and George Gideon & Co. of Washington, D.C.; 9 items, 1849-50. Donor: James W. Foster.

McCormick Education Notes (MS. 1647). Card notes, primarily on 19th and 20th century public and private secondary schools and colleges, used in Rev. Leo J. McCormick's 1942 dissertation, "Church-State Relationships in Education in Maryland"; 3 boxes, c. 1942. Donor: Not known.

Mackenzie's, Cosmo, School Masters Account (MS. 1697). Includes tuition for each pupil and expenses in running Mackenzie's Calvert County school; 1 vol., 1803-10. Donor: Not known.

McPherson-Johnson Papers (MS. 1714). Small collection relating to these two Frederick families including letters commenting on the Revolutionary War and the governments of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, opinions on Hamilton, Federalist chances in 1813, etc. Also business and personal letters; 13 items, 1729-1842. Donor: Estate of Anne Grahame Ross.

Marine, Rev. Fletcher E., Papers (MS. 1016.3). Papers of or collected by this Baltimore Methodist minister used in writing his biography of Rev. John Hersey, another Methodist minister and missionary. Includes autobiography of Hersey, his sermons, accounts, journals of travels, and correspondence (1835-62) on such topics as the state of the church and the effect of the Civil War on it; 2 boxes, 1829-89. Donor: Not known.

Maron, Alfred C., Confectioner, Notes (MS. 1679). MS and TS notes on the history of Marons, Baltimore candy makers, including articles and advertisements; 9 items, 1894-1960. Donor: J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul.

Maron of Baltimore, Inc. (MS. 1679.1). More material on this Baltimore confectioner; 8 items, 1917-54. Donor: Richard H. Randall, Jr.

Martin, Luther, Photostats (MS. 1751). Photostats of Martin letters dealing with the Revolution, his law practice, his defense of Aaron Burr, and Maryland and national politics (1780-1821); 1 box, 1766-1821. Donor: Paul S. Clarkson.

Maryland Convention of 1776 Journal of Accounts (MS. 1776). Lists delegates, length of service and payment made; 1 vol., 1776. Donor: Johns Hopkins University.

Maryland Western Boundary Survey (MS. 1654). Survey of the Maryland-Virginia boundary, details boundary markers with distances and elevations; 1 vol., 1859-60. Donor: Senator William McColloh Brown.

Maryland World War II Records (MS. 2010). 237,000 carbon copies of separations from the service of Maryland veterans, statements and clippings about Maryland's military, industrial, and agricultural contributions to the war effort and civilian defense services and volunteer activities; c. 300 feet, 1945-65. Donor: Not known.

GENEALOGICAL NOTES

BY MARY K. MEYER

Mrs. Tacy Norbury Campbell, for many years a member of the Maryland Historical Society, passed away on April 7, 1971. She was the daughter of the late George Stewart and Grace (Appold) Campbell and left surviving a son, Charles S. Dell, Jr. Mrs. Campbell was an enthusiastic genealogist: a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Daughters of the American Colonists, and United States Daughters of the War of 1812. In addition to being a member of the Maryland Historical Society, she also belonged to the Pennsylvania Genealogical Society and National Genealogical Society.

Over the years, Mrs. Campbell accumulated a respectable genealogical library numbering well over 1500 volumes which under the terms of her will were bequeathed to the Maryland Historical Society. In addition to many fine Maryland books, there was an excellent collection of early Pennsylvania county histories and atlases. This latter group of books is a most welcome addition to the Society Library and will prove to be a great asset to researchers with genealogical problems in that state.

The majority of dedicated genealogists who use the Society's resources to any great extent are well aware of our needs in the field. And as a result of Mrs. Campbell's dedication and awareness, she included in her will a bequest of \$1,000 for the use of the Library. She had made it clear, before her death, however, that she wished the money to be used in a way that would benefit the Society's many genealogical readers.

As a memorial to Mrs. Campbell, using the fund she so generously bequeathed, the Society has purchased microfilm copies of the Ships' Passenger Lists for the Port of Baltimore. These lists with indices number 243 rolls of microfilm. Of this number, 171 rolls make up the index to the Federal Passenger Lists, 1820-1897, and 22 rolls make up the index to the [so called] City Passenger Lists, 1833-1866.

The City Passenger Lists are those lists which under Maryland law were required to be made up by the masters of vessels for submittal to the Mayor. These lists report age and occupation of each immigrant.

The Federal Passenger Lists were those made up by the masters of each vessel and submitted to the Collector of Customs. Information given on these lists include Name, Age, Sex, Marital Status, Occupation, Nationality, Last permanent residence (town, country, etc.), Port of Entry, Name of vessel and date. The amount of information varies.

The indices to this series are not true indices but rather a system called

Soundex, whereby names of the same or similar sounds are grouped together.

This series of records should prove to be one of the more valuable aids to the genealogist and nineteenth century historian.

Mrs. Campbell's thoughtfulness and generosity will long be remembered by all who make use of these records.

Another recently completed project of the Society is the microfilming of the Maryland Mortality Schedules for the years 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880. The filming was done at Society headquarters through the cooperation of the Maryland State Library at Annapolis, owner of the original schedules.

These schedules were made up as a part of the Federal censuses taken in the years 1850, 1860, 1870, and 1880. Every person who died in the twelve month period prior to June 1 of the census year is listed. In addition to the name of the deceased, it also gives month of death, age, marital status, color, whether slave or free, cause of death, and length of illness.

With the acquisition of these two series by the Society and the planned release of the 1900 Census for public use in June it should be a bright and busy 1972 for Maryland genealogists and historians.

RECENT GENEALOGICAL ACCESSIONS

Anderson, Bart, et al., *Index to Chester County Wills and Intestate Records, 1713-1850*, (Danboro: Pennsylvania Traveler, 1970. Pp. 224.)

(Anne Arundel County) *Tombstone Inscriptions of Southern Anne Arundel County*. Compiled by Marlborough Towne Chapter, N.S.D.A.R. (Publ. for Chapter by Gateway Press, Baltimore, 1971, Pp. 443. \$12.50. From Chapter, Box 15, Upper Marlboro, Md. 20870.)

Crickard, Madeline W., *Index to the 1810 Virginia Census . . .* (Parsons: McClain Printing Co., 1971. Pp. 293. \$15.)

Harrison, Marjorie Butler, *Pennsylvania Descendants of Thomas Norris of Maryland, 1630-1959, and Allied Families* (Privately printed: n.p. Pp. 94.)

Hulme, F. Edward, *The History, Principles and Practice of Heraldry*. (Repr. N.Y.: Haskell House, 1969. Pp. 281.)

Lamot, Corliss, ed., *The Thomas Lamonts in America . . .* (South Brunswick: Barnes, 1971, Pp. 255. \$10.)

Lloyd, Daniel B., *The Lloyds of Southern Maryland*. (Washington, D.C., 1971. Pp. 313.)

Lowdermilk, Will H., *History of Cumberland, Maryland . . .* (Repr., Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1971. Pp. lviii, 487. \$15.)

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- Munroe, J. B., *A List of Alien Passengers, Bonded, 1847-1851, for the Use of the Overseers of the Poor in the Commonwealth.* (Repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1971. Pp. 99. \$7.50.)
- Newman, Harry W., *Charles County Gentry . . .* (Repr. Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1971. Pp. 321. \$12.50.)
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- Timmons, Joyce Elizabeth Sineath, *McQuay Clan of Maryland.* (Severna Park, 1971.)
- Tirk, Mildred Turner, *Turner Genealogy and Allied Families, 1769-1970.* (1971?) Gift of Mrs. W. E. Tirk, San Diego.
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- Waring, Lucy L., *Hardings of Northumberland County, Virginia, and Their Related Families . . .* (Pp. 249.)
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COMPILED BY EDGAR G. HEYL

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Settled for life; a play in 4 acts, by A. F. Scardefield, 45 p. 8°. Printed.

© Amelia F. Scardefield, Baltimore; D:13639, Aug. 24, 1908; 2c. Sept. 30, 1908.

SCHAEFFER, WM., see CURLEY, H. C.

SCHEFF, HENRY W.

Mountain (The) hero; a sensational comedy drama in 4 acts, by H. W. Scheff.

© Henry W. Scheff, Baltimore; 1897:63513, Nov. 13.

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SCHENCK, ELLIOTT

Under the seventh rib; an operetta in 3 acts, words and music by Elliott Schenck. 75 p. 4°. Typewritten. [Libretto only].

© E. Schenck, Baltimore; D:8855, July 13, 1906; 2c. Sept. 28, 1906.

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SCHENCK, G. ELLIOTT PENDLETON

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SCHILLING, WILLIAM

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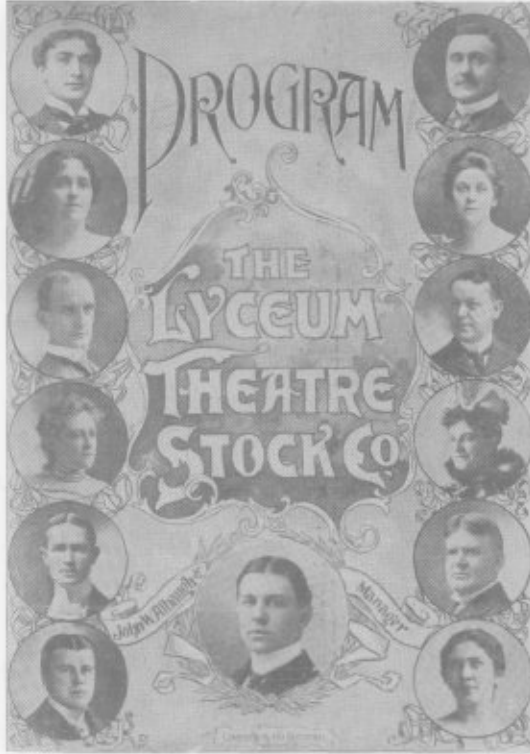
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SCHLOSS, HERBERT A.

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SHEWELL, L. R. Also see SPENCER, EDWARD

Flotsam and jetsam; a play in 5 acts, by L. R. Shewell.

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Maternus; tragedy in 5 acts, by E. Spencer.

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Monsieur Bounefoi; a drama in 3 acts, by E. Spencer.

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Not the way of the world; or, *Jasper's fortune*; a play, by E. Spencer.

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Ralph; or, *A kiss by the way*, scenes in old Kentucky, an American drama in 5 acts, by E. Spencer.

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STEWART, FANNY

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© Fanny Stewart, Baltimore; 1879:6471, May 14.

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Jardin (The) de Paris girls; musical comedy in 1 act, by F. E. Stewart. 39 p. 4°. Typewritten. [Words only]

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STONE, EMILY BAILY and JAMES GUSTAVUS WHITELEY

Esmond; play founded on the novel Henry Esmond, by W. M. Thackeray, by Emily Baily Stone and J. G. Whiteley.

© James Gustavus Whiteley, Baltimore; 1896:37375, June 27.

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Recasting (The); modern play in 3 acts, by S. B. Tall. 37 p. f°. Typewritten.
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Victory; modern play in 3 acts, by S. B. Tall. 40 p. f°. Typewritten.
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TAYLEURE, CLIFTON W. Also see SPENCER, EDWARD

Heinrich and Hettie; a characteristic drama of New York life, from Wall Street to Astoria, by C. W. Tayleure.

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Was she right? a question for women, an emotional drama in 4 acts, by C. W. Tayleure.

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TAYLOR, CHARLES A.

Girl with the grip; 3 act comedy drama, by C. A. Taylor.

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TEACKLE, JOHN

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Grave (The) robbers; a drama in 6 acts, by J. Teackle.

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- © Joseph L. Valentini, Baltimore; D:11662, Nov. 5, 1907; 2c. Nov. 21, 1907.

Uncle Horace; in 3 acts, by J. L. Valentini. 90 p. f°. Typewritten.

- © Joseph L. Valentini, Baltimore; D:14327, Nov. 25, 1908; 2c. Dec. 26, 1908.

DE VALIN, LAURA V.

Chaperon (The); a comic opera in 3 acts, by L. V. De Valin.

- © Laura V. De Valin, Baltimore; 1892:31570, July 30.
Elisa; a drama in 5 acts, by L. V. De Valin.
 © Laura V. De Valin, Baltimore; 1892:13316, Mar. 26.

DEVAULT, BENJAMIN

Carnival promoter's troubles in a Turkish bath.

- © Benjamin Devault, Baltimore; D:7942, Feb. 3, 1906.

VOLKMAN, LILLIAN and SARAH PRATT CARR

Flash-light (The); sketch by L. Volkman and S. P. Carr. [1], 28 p. 4°. Typewritten.



Lyric Theater. Baltimore. *Maryland Historical Society*.

© 1c. July 25, 1912; D:30349; Lillian Volkman, Baltimore, Sarah Pratt Carr, San Francisco.

DE WALDEN, THOMAS BLADES

War clouds; a page of history, a drama in 5 acts, by T. B. De Walden.

© Thomas Blades De Walden, Baltimore; 1872:9758, Sept. 10.

Plays © in other states - 5.

WALKER, MAUD DAVIS

Dolly Makeup's trio; a 1 act vaudeville sketch, by M. D. Walker.

© Maud Davis Walker, Baltimore; D:7226, Aug. 25, 1905.

WALKER, RYAN

Weather (The) man; a dramatic composition in 3 acts, by R. Walker.

© Ryan Walker, Baltimore; D:7187, Aug. 31, 1905.

WALLER, RIDGE, see DIMMIT, CHARLES RIDGELY

WALTERS, JOHN E.

Day (A) on the farm; dramatic composition by J. E. Walters. [2] p. f°. Typewritten.

© 1c. Oct. 15, 1912; D:31134; John E. Walters, Baltimore.

WARD, WARFIELD

Madge the maid; a comedy sketch in 1 scene, by W. Ward. 9 p. 4°. Type-written.

© Warfield Ward, Baltimore; D:8716, June 19, 1906; 2c. June 19, 1906.

WEBSTER, THOMAS B.

Hour (An) after; by T. B. Webster. 12 p. f°. Typewritten.

© Thomas B. Webster, Baltimore; D:8689, June 13, 1906; 2c. June 13, 1906.

WELCH, MARY PARKS

After centuries; [scenario for play in prologue and 3 acts], by M. P. Welch. 8 p. 4°. Typewritten.

© 1c. Aug. 25, 1909; D:16628; Mary Parkes [sic] Welch, Roland Park, Md. *Disciple (A) of Peachams'*; play by M. P. Welch.

© Mary Parks Welch, Baltimore; D:11851, Dec. 3, 1907.

Ideal (The) and the real; musical comedy, by M. P. Welch.

© Mary Parks Welch, Baltimore; D:13627, Aug. 21, 1908.

Stigma (The); play by M. P. Welch.

© Mary Parks Welch, Baltimore; D:12269, Jan. 21, 1908.

WHALEN, WILL W.

Farewell to the circus; W. W. Whalen. 6 p. 4°. Typewritten.

© Will W. Whalen, Emmitsburg, Md.; D:15997, June 4, 1909; 2c. June 4, 1909.

Plays © in other states - 14.

WHITELEY JAMES GUSTAVUS, see STONE, EMILY BAILY

WIGHT, EMMA HOWARD

Soul of Edmund Jeffray; an emotionalism in 1 act, by E. H. Wight.

© Emma Howard Wight, Baltimore; 1892:39217, Sept. 28.

WILLIAMS, N. WINSLOW

Way (The) of the transgressor; play in 4 acts, by N. W. Williams. [102] p. 4°. Typewritten.

© 1c. Jan. 13, 1911; D:23084; N. Winslow Williams, Baltimore.

——— Same. [105] p. 4°. Typewritten.

© 1c. Sept. 18, 1911; D:25260; N. Winslow Williams, Baltimore.

WILLIAMS, N. WINSLOW and HENRY P. JANES

Transgressor (The); play in prologue and 3 acts, by N. W. Williams and Henry P. Janes. [152] p. 4°. Typewritten.

© 1c. Sept. 7, 1916; D:44832; N. Winslow Williams, Baltimore.

WINCHESTER, MAUD TARLETON

String (A) of pearls; a play in 3 acts and a prologue. 84 p. 4°. Typewritten.

© Maud Tarleton Winchester, Rider, Md.; D:5983, Dec. 27, 1904; 2c. Dec. 10, 1904.

Woman-hater; by M. T. Winchester. 89 p. 4°. Typewritten.

© Maud Tarleton Winchester, Rider, Md.; D:7980, Feb. 12, 1906; 2c. Feb. 12, 1906.

© Plays in other states - 6.

WOLFE, ELMER A.

Last (The) days of Pompeii; altered and arr. in dramatic form from Lord Lytton's novel, by E. A. Wolfe.

© Elmer A. Wolfe, Union Bridge, Md.; 1888:9590, Apr. 2.

WONDERLY, W. CAREY and MABEL S. KEIGHTLEY

None so blind; dramatic 1 act play, by W. C. Wonderly and M. S. Keightley. [2], 20 p. 4°. Typewritten.

© 1c. Dec. 24, 1914; D:39205; W. Carey Wonderly, Baltimore and Mabel S. Keightley, South Bend, Ind.

Plays © in other states - 2.

ZELLER, FREDERICK C.

Ludwig von Wittelsbach (König Ludwig II von Bayern), leben, wirken und ende; historisches drama in 4 akten, von mir [F. C. Zeller].

© Frederick C. Zeller, Baltimore; 1887:25194, Oct. 1.

ZIEGFELD, OLIVER C.

Dawn (The) of peace; minstrel first part, arr. by O. C. Ziegfeld.

© Oliver C. Ziegfeld, Baltimore; 1898:4229, Jan. 10; 2c. Jan. 10.

Baltimore

EDGAR G. HEYL

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Charles Carroll of Carrollton: The Making of a Revolutionary Gentleman. By Thomas O'Brien Hanley. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1970. Pp. ix, 293. \$12.95 Cloth, \$9.95 Paper.)

When the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton died in 1832, he died as much a symbol as a man. As the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence and as a symbol of the passing Revolutionary generation, the old Federalist could be loved and honored in the heyday of Jacksonian democracy. Carroll's symbolic role is highly significant, for it reveals the popular fear that republican virtue was being interred with the nation's founders. But it is not with this theme that Father Hanley has chosen to deal.

Nor has Father Hanley given us a complete biography of Carroll. He does not intend his study to replace the one volume biography of Carroll published in 1942 by Ellen Hart Smith. What Father Hanley has written is a "cultural biography" of Carroll's first thirty-seven years, an intricately detailed narrative which analyzes the making of one "revolutionary gentleman."

The book develops three main themes. One is the practical education which Carroll received at his father's hands. From his father Carroll learned the details of managing and perpetuating an aristocratic family, its manor, and its slaves. Secondly, his formal education in France and England molded Carroll. There Carroll so imbibed the spirit of the Enlightenment that "Jefferson would have found the young Charles a kindred revolutionary in spirit" had he met him at the time. Thirdly, and in some ways most importantly, Carroll developed as a rights-conscious young gentleman because of the peculiar circumstances of his Maryland Catholic culture. Despite their great wealth, members of his family had long been treated as second-class citizens. Disfranchised because of their faith and unable to worship in public, the Carrolls, especially Charles's "rebel father," consistently opposed all such disabilities as flagrant violations of their rightful English liberties.

Father Hanley's development of these themes is skillful and sympathetic. Never has the story of Charles Carroll in the making been so richly detailed. At times, however, there seems to be some problem with the author's overall characterization of the man being made by these forces. After reading the book, none could question that Carroll was emerging as a thoroughgoing gentleman, a well-read and wide-rangingly cultivated man enamored of politics, botany, wines, horseracing, and a dozen areas besides. What is considerably less certain is that Carroll was truly a "revolutionary" by 1773 (the terminal point of this book). True, he had predicted in 1763 that America must one day be independent. In subsequent years he had often reiterated his conviction that England was decaying and that America must be an independent republic. But, if he looked forward to breaking the political connection with Britain, there were few "revolutionary" doctrines in his social theory. Many, probably most, American revolutionaries were conservatives, and Carroll's conservatism would present no great problems had Father

Hanley not attempted to show that young Carroll was emerging as "a comprehensive reform thinker."

There is legitimate doubt that Carroll qualifies as a "thinker" at all in the profoundest sense. Father Hanley may be overly sympathetic when he contends that Carroll was notably creative and original. Does Carroll's rendition of the popular cyclical theory of history, for instance, really make him "the young provincial philosopher of history"? Even if "thinker" is taken in its less rarefied sense, apparently what the thoughtful young gentleman thought about most of the time was not the rights of man but the rights of the Carrolls. His father owned 330 slaves in 1773, but our emerging "revolutionary" did not even question the morality of slavery. He did, however, as a gentleman charged with keeping order on the manor, know how and when to use the whip. Carroll was the sort of revolutionary whose urge to marry had to be tempered by caution lest he choose a damsel who, as his widow, might one day carry off enough of the aristocratic family's wealth to threaten its pre-eminent position. His was the sort of revolutionary mind to which any disquietude among the middling folk brought the specter of the rapacious mob. In short, the evidence seems called upon to perform strange tasks when it is made to show (except in a very narrow sense) that Carroll had "a revolutionary cast of mind" by 1773. It is doubtful that Carroll himself would have appreciated being dubbed "a comprehensive reform thinker."

Nonetheless, Father Hanley's book is an extremely valuable addition to our knowledge of the social milieu out of which one nation-maker came. Father Hanley's cultural biography has succeeded admirably in demonstrating that Carroll was largely the product of his rights-conscious Maryland Catholic environment. Carroll became a rebel (not to be confused with a thoroughgoing social reformer or revolutionary) because he interpreted the Enlightenment and the rights of Englishmen within the context of his family's position and the peculiarities of his provincial culture. Thus Father Hanley's book deserves a place alongside those of Carl Bridenbaugh, Charles S. Sydnor, and others who have attempted to explain the provincial cultures within which the nation-makers were themselves made. Especially now do we need more careful studies on this theme, for the approach of the bicentennial is stimulating fresh investigation of the men who created the nation and of the forces that created *them*.

Marquette University

ROBERT P. HAY

The Virginia Convention of 1776. By Hugh Blair Grigsby. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969. Pp. 206. \$15.00.)

A reader of this reprint gets the advantage of a bi-focal vision. The long distance subject is the lives and characters of the Virginians who created the revolutionary state government. Nearer to hand, it is an exposition of the attitudes among an influential segment of Virginia society before the outbreak of the Civil War. The author had listened to the reminiscences of men who had participated in the glories of '76. His discourse was a summary of what had been remembered

and what could be recovered from the available sources in 1855. It is also an outline of the mind-set of the men who would soon follow their leadership to disaster. For the student of history both foci are useful.

This reprint makes available one of Grigsby's three major works on the Virginia Conventions. It should engage anyone interested in revolutionary and antebellum Virginia. It would be especially acceptable to readers who have a taste for the rhetoric of a by-gone day or who are prepared to let the round periods and artful conceits roll elegantly past their eyes.

Loyola College

NICHOLAS VARGA

Printing in Delaware 1761-1800. A Checklist By Evald Rink. (Wilmington: Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, 1969. Pp. 214. Printed by the Stinehour Press. \$9.50).

In elegance of typography and design this book certainly equals, and may even surpass, the extraordinarily high standards of book production that the Stinehour Press has itself established. Both that distinguished firm and the sponsoring Eleutherian Mills Historical Library are to be congratulated for having made this book a thing of beauty as well as utility.

In content the book is a checklist only, rather than a descriptive bibliography, and as such it must be judged. Mr. Rink has done an adequate job within the limits that a checklist imposes.

The introductory essay on the history of eighteenth-century printing in Delaware is excellent. It is informative but still concise; learned but still clear. The Introduction has no taint of the chauvinism and consequent distortion that too often affect local histories: Mr. Rink recognizes that eighteenth-century Delaware was provincial even among the provinces, too small to be "a hub of active intellectual life," too close to the keen competition afforded by the printers of Philadelphia and Baltimore to permit the growth of an indigenous trade of great significance (p. 51).

The connections between Delaware and Maryland printers at the time were closer than Marylanders perhaps realize. Mr. Rink's introduction mentions many of them. For example, James Wilson, one of Delaware's most prominent publishers, came from Harford County (p. 42); Hezekiah Niles, who became famous in the nineteenth century as a Baltimore printer and publisher, was a Wilmington printer in his youth and retired there in his old age (pp. 35-38); the Adams brothers, Samuel and John, sons of Delaware's first printer, operated as printers and booksellers in both Wilmington and Baltimore simultaneously during part of the 1780's and 1790's (pp. 22-23).

Mr. Rink's checklist catalogues 566 items produced by Delaware presses in the 40 years to which it is devoted, and doubtless no future bibliographer will extend the list appreciably. Of these 148 are known by one copy only and 63 cannot be located at all. The latter seem to include all the dubious Evans entries, some

of which certainly never existed, but Mr. Rink has not presumed to judge them as he might well have done.

In works such as this, which require very precise writing and printing, typographical errors seem to leap to the reader's eye with only a minimum of use. It is remarkable that in a rather concentrated study of this volume I have not seen a single one, which is a tribute to both the author and the printers.

I have tried to discuss Mr. Rink's book for what it is, a checklist; but I cannot refrain from questioning the need for such eighteenth-century local checklists at this late date. The pioneering work of Evans, the additions to Evans published by the New York Public Library, the supplement to Evans already issued by Mr. Roger Bristol, and the *Short Title Evans* recently published under the auspices of the Antiquarian Society are all in themselves checklists of American printing for the very period covered by Mr. Rink. These works should be built upon, not repeated. It seems to me that in view of this great mass of checklist material, the time has come for regional works of the eighteenth century to take the form of descriptive bibliography for at least the more important items. This would include such matters as quasi-facsimile transcripts of title pages, collation by signatures, accurate reportage of pagination, and some reference, where appropriate, to contents, paper, binding, and the like. Almost 20 years ago Mr. Bristol (latest in a series of able bibliographers of Maryland) did approximately this for Maryland imprints of 1801 to 1810 and did it extremely well. His example should be far more widely imitated.

Baltimore

EDWARD G. HOWARD

Jacob Eichholtz 1776-1842: Portrait Painter of Pennsylvania. By Rebecca J. Beal. (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1969. Pp. xxxiii, 402. \$15.00.)

This first book published on the work of Jacob Eichholtz (1776-1842), native artist of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is a welcome and definitive contribution to the growing history of early 19th century American art.

The volume, with its excellent format and wealth of illustrations—256 of them (four in color)—includes an essay on the artist by Edgar Preston Richardson and observations on Eichholtz's techniques by Theodore Siegle. The chronological notes on the life of the artist provide a ready reference. Photographs of the artist's signature and a catalogue of 924 of Eichholtz's paintings complete this comprehensive work. The portraits are listed alphabetically by subject. Approximately 288 portraits are unlocated, and since most are described in detail, it is hoped that many of these can be identified and brought to light.

Eichholtz was essentially a self-taught artist, although as early in his career as 1808 he knew James Peale. Several years later he lent his painting room to Thomas Sully who was in Lancaster to paint a portrait of Governor Simon Snyder. By 1811 Eichholtz was displaying his work in the annual exhibitions of the Society of Artists at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and about

this time he visited Gilbert Stuart. There is evidence that Jacob Eichholtz exhibited in the first annual exhibition at the Peale Museum, Baltimore, though no copy of the catalogue has survived. A fragment news clipping dated "Sunday, Oct. 20, 1822 . . ." lists several portraits including ". . . one by Eickholt (*sic*) of Rev. Dr. Kurtz; . . ." (catalogue no. 438, unlocated).

The catalogue includes a number of portraits of Marylanders: Mrs. Lavallan Barry (Jemina Gorsuch) of Baltimore County; Mrs. John Brien (Harriet McPherson) and Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Eichelberger of Frederick County; Andrew Ellicott of Ellicott's Mills and Baltimore; Stuart Gaither of Washington County; Mrs. William Hayward, Jr. (Elizabeth Haskins Bullitt) of Talbot County; Mrs. Benjamin M. Hodges (Elizabeth Ariana Best Jennings) of Anne Arundel and Prince George's Counties; Reverend John Francis Hoff, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, Towson; Peter Hoffman, III of Baltimore; Mrs. William Jessop (Cecilia Barry) of "Vauxhall," Baltimore County; Judge Kensey Johns, III of Anne Arundel County; Andrew Buchanan Kaufman of Frederick County; Mr. and Mrs. Henry McElderry (Ann West Evans), Baltimore County; Colonel John McPherson and wife Sarah Smith of Frederick County; Mrs. Peter Neff (Isabella Howard Freeman) of Baltimore; General Alexander Ogle of Frederick; Mrs. Evan Thomas Poultney (Jane Tunis) of Baltimore; Richard Rangan and family of Hagerstown; Mr. and Mrs. William Ross (Catherine Worthington Johnson) of Frederick; Philip Benjamin Sadtler of Baltimore; Reverend David Frederick Schaeffer and wife and Frederick Augustus Schley of Frederick; William Scheley of Frederick and Baltimore; Reverend William Smith of Chestertown; Mrs. John Stump (Cassandra Wilson) of "Stafford," Harford County; Mrs. James Swan (Elizabeth Donnell) of Baltimore; Joshua and Robert Tevis of Cumberland and Baltimore; Charles Tiernan and David Williamson of Baltimore.

Two other portraits of Baltimoreans listed in the catalogue, numbers 161 and 162, of Mr. and Mrs. John Diffenderffer, are incorrectly cited as part of this Society's collection. We are sincerely distressed that the error is entirely ours. Actually the portraits are in the possession of Mrs. Guy Warfield, who recently inherited them from her late father, Mr. Charles M. Diffenderffer.

Warmest congratulations and thanks go to Mrs. James H. Beal. Her book is a gratifying and invaluable contribution to the history of American art and a fitting tribute to her great-grandfather, Jacob Eichholtz.

Maryland Historical Society

EUGENIA CALVERT HOLLAND

Origins of the Whig Party. By E. Malcolm Carroll. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970. Pp. 260. \$12.50.)

The availability of this old study on the Whig Party will be welcomed by political historians. While it did not achieve sufficient stature to be designated a classic, Carroll's work was accepted as the standard piece detailing the antecedents of the Whigs. Because most historians had devoted their attention to the Jack-

sonian Democrats, Carroll's study was useful for understanding the opposition. But his orientation was askew in that he focused entirely on national leaders while ignoring the grass roots vitality of the party. He credited John McLean and William Henry Harrison with too much importance and failed to appreciate the omnipresent attraction of Henry Clay. First published in 1925, perhaps the weaknesses of this work stem from the unavailability then of voluminous manuscript collections and monographs. Still Carroll's framework stands as a general survey of the antecedents of the Whig Party. It seems judicious therefore to acknowledge the value of having this study reissued but to note its limitations. Obviously a new synthesis of the Whig Party is needed.

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

W. WAYNE SMITH

Crisis of Fear: Secession in South Carolina. By Steven A. Channing. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970. Pp. 315. \$7.95.)

The theme of Channing's book is contained in the following sentence: "Secession was a revolution of passion, and the passion was fear." (p. 293) This is one of a spate of books which see fear and guilt as prime motivating factors in human history. This interpretation is held as tenaciously as the Beardians held the pocketbook motive. No doubt like other single-track views of the past it will pass away. But at the moment it is in vogue and perhaps it too will fertilize the historical field.

Channing sees in antebellum South Carolina fear of insurrection and fear of abolition—the internal and external enemies—as the chief motivating factors behind events. In 1859 the fear of abolition was dominant. This was a racist fear—fear of "the erosion of white control over the Negro; and ultimately, the destruction of slavery." (p. 237) The 1860 Association was formed to spread the fear of abolition as psychological preparation for disunion. "Secession was the product of logical reasoning within a framework of irrational perception." (p. 286)

Yet Channing can never get rid of the awkward facts that insurrection became less likely after the 1820's, that white society became more homogeneous, and that the final step taken in December 1860 was unanimous. What Channing overlooks is that the Carolina society had been molded for over thirty years into a monolithic whole, a way of life, with the planter as the supreme model—all aspects of society must bend to this picture. Free Negroes were not "expanding the frontiers of freedom and privilege" (p. 46); they were being squeezed into slavery. Merchants in Charleston were not radicalized (p. 260); they had been reduced in numbers and in relative importance. Few were left to oppose. As long as the leaders of the planter society could secure protection within the federal society through control of Congress or the court or the presidency, they would stay within. Once this prospect was gone, they would leave. But they would leave as a unit, not fearfully but believing that they were correct concerning the value of their own society. It was their belief in slavery, wrong as it was, that made them strong. They knew it was profitable. Nor did they have to entice the smaller

farmers into the fold, for the image of the planter was still the model for all ranks of society—even the slave saw this, if Stanley Elkins is only partly right. It was because they were not fearful of insurrection that they took the plunge into secession.

One falls into the fear-guilt position since one cannot conceive that men believed slavery to be good. Such men cannot be strong. They must be guilty and fearful. And they must be considered to be making all fearful in order to sweep them into revolution. Channing concludes with the statement that “if the history of race relations in the United States is an accurate measure . . . white and black will never achieve equality because of the fears of the one, and their oppression of the other.” (p. 293) That is the author’s bias. He then adds: “But human experience also indicates the possibility of transcending history, for history is neither a lawgiver nor an impenetrable barrier.” (p. 293) Now what does this mean? Surely “human experience” is history.

University of South Carolina

GEORGE C. ROGERS, JR.

Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction. Edited by Irwin Unger. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970. Pp. xii, 434. \$4.95 Paperback.)

Books such as this are innumerable; this, in fact, is one of a series. Salesmen promote them as “collateral reading” for college courses, which tells a research scholar that there is nothing new here. These twenty-seven essays, reprinted from scholarly periodicals or excerpted from books, were originally published between 1945 and 1967.

The editor’s rationale for the collection is that “through re-examination and re-interpretation, historical knowledge is advanced.” Further, the editor suggests that apparently conflicting interpretations of historical events are not always incompatible. But is it necessarily true that the more complex hypotheses about historical causation become, the more accurate they are? A plausible case could be made that this collection “proves” something else: that complex historical events can bear many interpretations and that the problem is not to get the right mix by accumulation, but rather to choose an interpretation that best suits present needs. The objectivity of history must derive from its method of inquiry, not from something inherent in the documents, and inquiry is necessarily an activity of the present.

Rationales aside, the collection makes interesting reading. There are well reasoned arguments for seeing the fundamental cause of the Civil War in constitutional, economic, or moral frameworks. There is scholarly discussion of such compelling matters as the profitability of slavery, the Elkins thesis of slavery, and the motivations behind Radical Reconstruction. Of course, in so large a collection any reader will find ideas that seem terribly wrong-headed. Allan Nevins’ argument that a major result of the Civil War (presumably beneficial) was the creation of “true national passion,” coupled with Frank E. Vandiver’s view that for the South the war had the benefit of creating “new found cohesion” and

"greater democracy," appear to result from a slavish devotion to some principle of universal compensation. And some items are badly dated. August Meier's confidence, expressed in 1967, that the second Reconstruction (Civil Rights movement) would not go the way of the first, is probably less justifiable only three years later. Similarly, the editor's statement that Radical Republican concern for the freedmen is not "as suspect as it once was," while technically true, fails to convey the new understanding of C. Vann Woodward, among others, that the force behind Reconstruction politics was not humanitarianism but Northern white racism.

Such personal reactions are meant not as criticism, but as praise. When prepared by an able scholar, and when supported by such excellent editorial comment as Unger's, a collection of this sort can be very stimulating and can allow non-specialists to become acquainted or re-acquainted with those issues and problems that knowledgeable historians see as primarily important.

Towson State College

FRED M. RIVERS

Andrew Carnegie. By Joseph Frazier Wall. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970. Pp. xii, 1137. \$15.00.)

In 1929, Burton J. Hendrick, a gifted writer, contributed an extensive and perceptive biographical sketch of Andrew Carnegie to the *Dictionary of American Biography*. He then stated that as yet no adequate biography of Carnegie had appeared. In 1932 Hendrick endeavored to correct the deficiency by the publication of a two-volume work dealing with Carnegie's life which was based on the use of many Carnegie manuscripts. Competent reviewers praised the achievement: Allan Nevins declared that Hendrick had "made a judicious selection among superabundant materials" and had written in a style that was "always charming." A critic of the "Robber Baron" era, Matthew Josephson, paid tribute to "a lucid and effortless style, an eye for good scenes and the taste or ability to organize well a large canvas." It might have seemed that a definitive study had been produced, but Josephson also suggested that the work displayed "a studied innocence on many phases of Carnegie's career." Now, Professor Wall, Dean of Grinnell College in Iowa, has labored long and assiduously to overcome this lack of informed objectivity and has had the advantage of previously unused letter books and business files, as well as personal letters between Carnegie and his wife Louise. The result is an amazingly erudite appraisal of a complex personality and of the equally complex times in which he lived. Unraveled are the ambiguities of the son of a Radical Chartist Scotch family who came to the United States and achieved phenomenal success as a major figure in the American plutocracy. The details of Carnegie's part in American industrial development and financial maneuvering are presented with the greatest precision. Wall analyzes the reasons that Carnegie's relation to the tragic Homestead Strike of 1892 was the most regrettable episode in his life. He similarly explains Carnegie's hypocritical and even reprehensible actions in a highly competitive and ruthless era as well as his

very intelligent and imaginative contributions to his generation and to posterity. Also discussed is his friendship with outstanding individuals in Great Britain and the United States which brought him into close association with Gladstone, John Morley, and Matthew Arnold in Great Britain, and business, political, and educational leaders of commanding influence in the United States.

His belief in the "Gospel of Wealth" which prompted him to distribute most of his fortune for libraries, church organs, the search for peace, and other causes is a fascinating story in itself.

The work is beautifully illustrated and has voluminous bibliographical references. Errors appear to be almost nonexistent, although Youghiogheny is misspelled (p. 478), and William Dennison is referred to as Governor of Ohio (pp. 280, 281) a decade after he left that office. Many readers may find the richness of detail somewhat overpowering at times, but here is a complete story which need not be told again.

The Ohio State University

FRANCIS P. WEISENBURGER

The Centennial Years. By Fred A. Shannon. (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1969. Pp. xx, 362. \$1.75 Paperback.)

In less than a decade, Americans will celebrate the 200th anniversary of their founding as a nation, and, at the same time, the centennial of the less glorious events of America's young adulthood in the late 19th century. It is these years from 1876 to 1892 that are the focus of Fred Shannon's last book, *The Centennial Years*—a work left unfinished at his death and completed by Robert H. Jones. A distinguished historian best known for his studies of the Civil War and American agriculture, Shannon chose to limit his narrative to political and economic history. Those who would know the story of foreign policy, intellectual, or even social history had best look elsewhere. But readers who wish an introduction to the politics of the late 19th century would do well to read *The Centennial Years*.

There is little that is new in Shannon's story. The tawdry details of crop-lien systems, the suppression of labor unions, and government corruption have been told before. It is Shannon's virtue that he brings to these events the insight and perception of an historian who has studied the period for a life-time. The anecdotal material is fresh, and illustrations from an impressive bibliography enliven *The Centennial Years*. Occasionally recent monographs are overlooked, or at least not incorporated into Shannon's narrative. Thus American business remains a monolithic force, not the myriad of competing interest groups described by many historians. Furthermore, Shannon's view of American political history is innocent of any quantitative analysis. In his view, platforms, personalities, and even campaign gaffes such as the famed 1884 assertion by a Republican clergyman that Democrats were the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" determine the voting allegiances of Americans.

Generally Shannon sees little to admire in these years. In an unconvincing postscript he insists that the "social justice movement coming alive in the Cen-

ennial Years, blossomed in the Progressive Era." Yet his narrative reveals few seeds of any reform movement save for third parties such as the Greenback Labor Party which he greatly admires. Indeed Shannon brings all the objections of a modern day Populist to the events and personalities he describes. Thus robber barons remain unreconstructed crooks, not the creative industrialists described by Allan Nevins. While the thesis that the centennial years served as a preliminary for later reform movements remains an unproven assertion, Shannon has nonetheless written an interesting description of an era that will soon be 100 years away from 20th century Americans.

Goucher College

JEAN BAKER

The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South. By Broadus Mitchell. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968. Pp. xi, 276. \$12.50.)

This work is an unabridged reprint by the Da Capo Press of the 1921 edition published by the Johns Hopkins Press. The only additions by the author are a new introduction and bibliographical note. Today's reader can only wish that the introduction—a four and one-half page summary attempting to update the text—had been expanded into a new concluding chapter. Such topics as a demise of company-owned mill villages and the biracial composition of today's textile mill labor force deserve more than a few cursory remarks. The bibliographical note includes only major books published on this subject since 1921; unfortunately pertinent scholarly articles are missing. Nevertheless, this is a landmark book in the economic history of the South, and many will appreciate its once again being available.

North Texas State University

WILLIAM P. VAUGHN

Economics of Harvard. By Seymour E. Harris. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970. Pp. xix, 519. \$14.50.)

Harris' book does for the economic aspects of Harvard's history what Samuel Eliot Morison has done for the rest: Harris raises a monument to an institution.

All phases of economic activity at the university are his province: "the resources available to Harvard, the manner in which they were received, the use to which they have been put, the costs to the students and the manner in which these costs were covered, the techniques for choosing the faculty, its size, its pay, both salary and fringe, its work loads, its structure, its history, and the disagreements between faculty and administration on pay and work load." In fact he touches on everything which created expense or revenue for the university.

Although replete with "hard" data about all facets of educational economics, Harris has not written a mere textbook on the subject. He has a keen eye for the good quotation and the telling anecdote. His chapter on "Student Behavior" re-

minds us that contemporary campus troubles are not new to academe. Today's students seem much tamer in comparison with their nineteenth (and eighteenth) century predecessors and campus and civil authorities much quicker to react. Only the issues seem to have changed, from the quality of college food to the state of world affairs.

While his sections on students and faculty are indeed interesting, it is in the area of university finance that Harris spends most of his effort. As we might imagine, a considerable portion of the book deals with the never ending search for funds to run the school. Anyone from a state university must be impressed with an endowment of one billion dollars, but Harris is correct in calling Harvard, its people, its libraries, its traditions, a national heritage and worthy of some extra support for that reason. He makes the point that such support must be increased, not only for Harvard but for all other institutions of higher education also, but again he uses the prism of historical perspective to put the plea in context. He argues that government contributions are crucial but he reminds us that government has always aided education. He asks only that it return to its historically supportive role. Again the well chosen quotation from an early (1643) promotion pamphlet stresses that not only did "Mr. Harvard" and "others after him" contribute to the beginnings of the college; "the publique hand of the State added the rest." Harris' important book might well be instrumental in stirring "the State" to resume that role, both for Harvard and for other colleges and universities.

*The Institute of Early American
History and Culture*

JOHN J. McCUSKER

NOTES AND QUERIES

The Society and Board of Editors are very pleased to announce the appointment of John B. Boles as Book Review Editor of the Magazine. Dr. Boles is an Assistant Professor of History at Towson State College, Baltimore and received his doctorate in 1969 from the University of Virginia. This spring the University Press of Kentucky is publishing his first book, *The Great Revival, 1787-1805: Origins of the Southern Evangelical Mind*. Professor Boles has published articles in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, the *Southern Humanities Review*, and has an article forthcoming in the *Journal of Popular Culture*. He has reviewed books for the *Journal of Southern History*, the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and *Choice*. The William Wirt Papers were published by the Society in a microfilm edition for the National Historical Publication Commission under his editorship, and Dr. Boles is currently working on a similar microfilm edition of the John Pendleton Kennedy Papers.

35th ANNUAL MARYLAND HOUSE AND GARDEN PILGRIMAGE

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INFORMATION RELEVANT TO THE 35th ANNUAL MARYLAND HOUSE AND GARDEN PILGRIMAGE FOR EDITORS OF PERIODICALS AND TRAVEL WRITERS

PURPOSE: Funds raised are used to help restore and preserve historical houses, churches, and gardens throughout Maryland.

SCHEDULE—1972

April 29—Talbot County

April 30—Queen Anne County

May 2—Harford County

May 3—Greenspring Valley, Baltimore County

May 4—Frederick County

May 5—Suburban Baltimore (Northwest)

May 6—Anne Arundel County

May 7—Charles County

May 20 & 21—Chesapeake Bay Cruises to Historic
Annapolis and the Naval Academy

DESCRIPTION: Tours include counties of the tidewater areas and suburban Baltimore. Large estates, 17th Century manors and town houses, colonial cottages, and both traditional and modern suburban houses offer diversity. Fine antiques in settings of charm and historical interest add to the pleasure of the Pilgrim. Chesapeake Bay Cruises include walking tours in towns reminiscent of colonial seaports.

ADMISSION: Ticket for tours \$6.00, except Talbot County which will be \$10.00. Cruise tickets, including lunch, \$15.00.

ACCOMMODATIONS: Attractive inns, comfortable hotels and motels, and city and rural restaurants are accessible. Luncheons are served in a local church on most tours.

Information Wanted: Early history of Bobbitt family freely exchanged by John W. Bobbitt, 2502 I St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

On May 19, 1972 the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library will sponsor a conference entitled "Sources and Measurement of Productivity Change in the Nineteenth Century." Papers will be delivered by William Parker, Yale University, and Polly J. Scafidi of the University of Delaware. Following the presentations there will be a panel discussion of the papers as well as a general analysis of the problems of studying this particular subject. Participants in the panel will be Paul J. Uselding, Johns Hopkins University, William G. Whitney, University of Pennsylvania, Eugene S. Ferguson, Hagley Museum, Nathan Rosenberg, University of Wisconsin, and Robert E. Gallman, University of North Carolina. Anyone desiring further information or an invitation, please contact Richard L. Ehrlich, Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville, Wilmington, Delaware 19807.

Mr. James J. White is researching the life of John Donnell Smith (1829-1928), 505 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland. Captain Smith was a Civil War hero, lawyer, and botanist who donated his extensive library and herbarium to the Smithsonian Institution. Please send any information of interest to:

James J. White, Museum Specialist
Department of Botany W409
Museum of Natural History
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D. C. 20560

Dr. Patric Sim, "implicated in Scottish rebellion of 1715, fled Scotland and estate of 'Kilcairn' confiscated," married Mary Brooke 1718, settled in Prince Georges County. Wanted, location in Scotland of "Kilcairn." Please contact:

Mrs. John Bracken
P.O. Box 277
Oxford, Maryland 21654

Hammett-Cockrill Wanted, information on ancestry of brothers Jesse and William Hammett and their wives, Dianah and Nancy Cockrill, who were sisters and the daughters of William and Frances (Jones) Cockrill. The families moved from Spartanburg, South Carolina to Barren County, Kentucky in 1804. Hammetts believed to be originally from Maryland and Cockrills from North Carolina and previously Virginia.

H. J. Boothroyd
51 Indian Hill Road
Weston, Mass. 02193

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (*Act of August 12, 1970; Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code*). 1. Date of filing: Sept. 30, 1971. 2. Title of Publication: *Maryland Historical Magazine*. 3. Frequency of Issue: Quarterly. 4. Location of Known Office of Publication: 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: Publisher: Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201; Editor: Dr. Richard R. Duncan, Department of History, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. 20007; Managing Editor: P. W. Filby, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. 7. Owner: Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. No stock—nonprofit organization. 8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities: None. 10. The purpose, function and nonprofit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have not changed during preceding 12 months. 1. Extent and Nature of Circulation: A. Total No. Copies Printed (Quarterly) (Net Press Run): 4,550; B. Paid Circulation: 1. Sales Through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors and Counter Sales: None; 2. Mail Subscriptions (Memberships): 3,675; C. Total Paid Circulation: 3,675; D. Free Distribution (Schools and Libraries): 775; E. Total Distribution: 4,450; F. Office Use, Left-over, Unaccounted, Spoiled After Printing: 100; G. Total 4,550.

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

P. William Filby, *Director*

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January 6, 1972

To The Members Of The Council

Maryland Historical Society
201 West Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Ladies And Gentlemen:

We have examined the accompanying statement of assets, liabilities and fund balances of the Maryland Historical Society as of September 30, 1971, and the related statements of revenues and expenditures and changes in fund balances for the year then ended, all prepared on the cash basis, except as to counter and book sales activities. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the accompanying financial statements present fairly the assets, liabilities and fund balances of the Maryland Historical Society at September 30, 1971, the revenues and expenditures and the change in fund balances for the year then ended, on a cash basis, consistent with that of the preceding year, except as to non-recurring distortions in revenues resulting from counter and book sales, and from publications re-valuations as detailed in appended comments.

Joselyn, Sewell, Ford and Weyrich, P.A.

Certified Public Accountants

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

STATEMENT OF ASSETS, LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES

SEPTEMBER 30, 1971

ASSETS

	Total All Funds
Cash:	
Cash on hand,.....	\$ 150.00
Operating cash accounts,.....	5,348.02
Restricted cash accounts,.....	203,937.05
	<u>\$ 209,435.07</u>
Accounts receivable:	
Escrow accounts for 227 W. Monument Street,.....	\$ 8,905.54
Miscellaneous,.....	7,709.80
	<u>\$ 16,615.34</u>
Inventories - counter items,	<u>\$ 4,785.62</u>
Investments:	
Stocks,.....	\$1,542,160.73
Bonds,.....	911,849.86
Mortgages,.....	54,748.12
Ground rents,.....	29,806.66
Real estate:	
Florida property,.....	8,000.00
214-16 Park Avenue,.....	205,827.05
227 W. Monument Street,.....	102,230.35
Less: Accumulated depreciation on buildings,.....	(11,849.00)
	<u>\$2,842,773.77</u>
Property, plant and equipment:	
Land and buildings,.....	\$2,150,969.03
Furniture and equipment,.....	56,217.62
Books,.....	1.00
Manuscripts,.....	1.00
Paintings and statuary,.....	1.00
	<u>\$2,207,189.65</u>
Inter-fund balances,.....	<u>\$ -</u>
Total assets,.....	<u>\$5,280,799.45</u>

LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES

Accounts payable,.....	\$ 869.88
Payroll taxes withheld,.....	646.47
Mortgage note payable, 6-1/2%, due \$3,000.00 annually,.....	36,500.00
Unexpended advances - State Programs (Net),.....	20,090.66
Fund balances,.....	<u>5,222,692.44</u>
Total liabilities and fund balances,.....	<u>\$5,280,799.45</u>

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
STATEMENT OF ASSETS, LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES
SEPTEMBER 30, 1971

ASSETS

General Fund	Special Funds	Restricted Funds	Endowment Fund
\$ 150.00	\$	\$	\$
5,348.02			
20,184.67	132,669.85	53.65	51,028.88
<u>\$ 25,682.69</u>	<u>\$ 132,669.85</u>	<u>\$ 53.65</u>	<u>\$ 51,028.88</u>
\$	\$		\$ 8,905.54
6,482.84	1,226.96		
<u>\$ 6,482.84</u>	<u>\$ 1,226.96</u>		<u>\$ 8,905.54</u>
<u>\$ 4,785.62</u>			
			\$1,542,160.73
			911,849.86
			54,748.12
			29,806.66
			8,000.00
			205,827.05
			102,230.35
			(11,849.00)
			<u>\$2,842,773.77</u>
\$ 192,247.58			\$1,958,721.45
20,706.93			35,510.69
1.00			
1.00			
1.00			
<u>\$ 212,957.51</u>			<u>\$1,994,232.14</u>
<u>\$(140,234.53)</u>	<u>\$(17,783.37)</u>	<u>\$ 24,159.85</u>	<u>\$ 133,858.05</u>
<u>\$ 109,674.13</u>	<u>\$ 116,113.44</u>	<u>\$ 24,213.50</u>	<u>\$5,030,798.38</u>
\$ 869.88	\$	\$	\$
646.47			36,500.00
20,090.66			
<u>88,067.12</u>	<u>116,113.44</u>	<u>24,213.50</u>	<u>4,994,298.38</u>
<u>\$ 109,674.13</u>	<u>\$ 116,113.44</u>	<u>\$ 24,213.50</u>	<u>\$5,030,798.38</u>

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
CURRENT FUND REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1971

REVENUES

Dues,.....		\$ 32,448.00
Contributions,.....		3,295.00
Legacies and trusts,.....		3,191.34
Use of building charged to programs,.....		2,000.00
Investment income:		
Dividends,.....	\$ 41,611.18	
Interest,.....	23,328.45	
Ground rents,.....	115.00	
Real estate,.....	<u>13,236.02</u>	
		78,290.65
Miscellaneous income,.....		30.72
Sales and service fees:		
Sales of magazines and history notes,.....	\$ 2,643.20	
Publication advertising,.....	221.00	
Counter sales,.....	7,519.54	
Library service fees,.....	2,492.01	
Reproduction fees,.....	1,151.50	
Xerox fees,.....	3,322.10	
Microfilming fees,.....	<u>724.36</u>	
	\$ 18,073.71	
Less: Publicity materials,.....	\$ 45.00	
Cost of merchandise	<u>694.17</u>	
		<u>17,334.54</u>
State of Maryland Appropriations Earned:		
Educational services,.....	\$ 9,863.86	
Road markers,.....	5,724.72	
Archives,.....	7,425.13	
Important papers indexing,.....	9,787.20	
History project,.....	<u>633.36</u>	
		33,434.27
Transfer from Lilian Sarah Greif Fund - Supplementing prior year,.....		25.88
Operating funds from Thomas and Hugg Fund,.....		74,384.49
Darnall Museum funds from Darnall Fund,.....		15,615.64
Earned portion of National Historical Publication Commission Grant,.....	\$ 6,468.74	
Earned portion of National Endowment For The Humanities Grant,.....	<u>1,062.36</u>	
		<u>7,531.10</u>
Total income ,.....		<u>\$267,581.63</u>

EXPENDITURES

General Fund Expenditures -

Museum,.....	\$ 13,500.99
Library,.....	51,653.07
Manuscript Division,.....	14,270.90
Maritime Museum,.....	8,616.46
Oarnall Museum,.....	11,149.00
Latrobe Papers - (Prior to U.S. grant),.....	7,705.06
Magazine,.....	19,086.33
History Notes,.....	1,911.50
Building Operations,.....	78,195.31
Administrative And General,.....	<u>65,075.45</u>

\$271,164.07

State Program Expenditures -

Educational,.....	\$ 9,863.86
Road Markers,.....	5,724.72
Archives,.....	7,425.13
Magazine Indexing,.....	4,138.15
Important Papers Indexing,.....	5,649.05
History Project,.....	<u>633.36</u>

33,434.27

General Services Administration Program Expenditures -

National Historical Publications Commission,.....	\$ 6,468.74
National Endowment For The Humanities,.....	<u>1,062.36</u>

7,531.10

Total expenditures,..... \$312,129.44

Income for year ,..... 267,581.63

Excess of expenditures over income for year - regular activities,..... \$(44,547.81)

Special non-recurring transfer from Special Funds - Publications 32,264.78

Net excess of expenditures over income for year \$ (12,283.03)



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